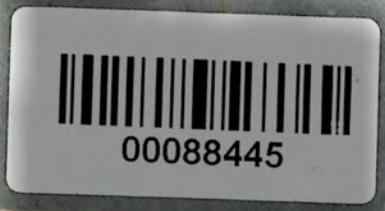

00088445

NOT TO BE ISSUED OUT
WITHOUT PERMISSION.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR,

LADAK, ISKARDO,

THE COUNTRIES ADJOINING THE

MOUNTAIN-COURSE OF THE INDUS,

AND

THE HIMALAYA, NORTH OF THE PANJAB.

WITH MAP

ENGRAVED BY DIRECTION OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY,

AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

By G. T. VIGNE, Esq. F.G.S.

AUTHOR OF A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A VISIT TO GHUZNI, KABUL, AND AFGHANISTAN.

88445

"I look out with great anxiety for your map and book relating to Cashmere and Gilghit, &c., by far the most interesting portion of your wanderings, and which will fill up a great blank."—*Extract of a Letter from Sir A. Burnes to the Author, dated Kabul, Sept.* 16, 1841.

"Cashmere still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world."—ELPHINSTONE'S *India*, vol. ii. p. 286.

"Eoam tentare fidem, populosque bibentes
Euphratem; * * * *
Medorum penetrare domos, * *
Arva super Cyri, Chaldæique ultima regni,
Quâ rapidus Ganges et quâ Nyssæus Hydaspes
Accedunt pelago."—LUCAN, *Civ. Bell.* Lib. viii. l. 213, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

XA 9 4

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1842.

915.46
Vig | Tra
88445

reg
1916.52

00088445

LONDON:
PRINTED BY MOYES AND BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

PREFACE.

THE late lamented Sir Alexander Burnes, in a letter dated Kabul, 16th September, 1841, wrote to me thus:—"I look out with great anxiety for your map and book relating to Cashmere and Gilghit, &c., by far the most interesting portion of your wanderings, and which will fill up a great blank." I have done my best in furtherance of the objects he alludes to.

I have, of course, embodied my travels in one continued narrative, without unnecessary reference to the numbers of times and variety of seasons I have visited the same places. I have, for instance, three times crossed the mountains from the Panjab to Iskardo in Little Tibet, and have necessarily passed through Kashmir in my way.

The Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company having given orders that the Map which accompanies these volumes should be engraved at their own expense, I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of their kindness and liberality in so doing.

To the learning and kindness of Professor H. H. Wilson I, as well as my readers, am indebted, not only for much information, but the prevention of

much error; and to James Fergusson, Esq., late of Calcutta, I am under considerable obligations for information which his intimate acquaintance with Hindu history and the distinguishing details of Oriental architecture has enabled him to give me.

To Professor Willis I have to return my best thanks for his remarks on the ancient architecture of Kashmir; and, also, to Dr. Wiseman I am indebted for the extract I have taken the liberty of making from his learned work on the "Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion," as well as for the highly applicable Latin motto which I have borrowed for my title-page. I have only to add that M. P. Edgworth, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service; Dr. Falconer, Superintendant of the Honourable East India Company's garden at Saharunpur; and Dr. Royle, F.L.S. &c. &c., have obliged me with much of that assistance, particularly in botanical matters, for which the mere aspirant must always remain indebted to science. Upon my return to England, I immediately transferred all the plants I had collected to the care of the latter gentleman. They could not be in abler hands. I have to thank him for his kindness and the trouble he has taken; whilst the very masterly review of all that is hitherto known of the botany of the more western ranges of the Himalaya, contained in the Observations, &c., in the Appendix to the second volume, will be perused with the greatest interest by all lovers of natural history.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE LATE AND NOW PASSING EVENTS

IN

AFGHANISTAN.

THE scenes of the following narrative lie generally to the eastward of the meridians of Attok and Peshawur; yet as it will, I think, be reasonably expected that I should not allow the late events in Afghanistan to pass entirely without notice, I have ventured upon the following remarks, with the intention of laying before my readers what I humbly consider to be a fair view of the subject, with all its *pros* and *cons*, and have endeavoured to handle it with a strict regard to justice, and no regard whatever to party considerations.

The facts connected with, and preceding, the late expedition to Ghuzni and Kabul (I mention them for the benefit of the uninitiated) were shortly these. In 1810, Shah Shuja, son of the late King Timour Shah, and legitimate heir, as such, to the throne of Kabul, was chased from his dominion by his brother Mahmoud, and after a residence at Lahore and Rawul Pindi, in the Panjab, and a variety of misfortunes consequent upon his unsuccessful attempts at Multán, Peshawur, and Kashmir, &c., repaired, in 1816, to Lodiana; where (after being joined by his brother, Shah Zimán, another ex-king of Kabul, older than himself, and who had also been deposed and blinded by Mahmoud previously to the capture of Kabul by Shah Shuja) he has since remained, and Shah Zimán with him, as a pensioner of the Indian government.

Dost Mohamed Khan became master of Kabul in 1824, although he had at first, I believe, but a feeble hold upon it.* For his pedigree, and an outline of the events preceding his acquisition, I must refer my readers to my previous volume on Afghanistan. I do not insert them here, as they are of no immediate import. From the time of his first becoming the ruler of Kabul, he has been constantly seeking for the friendship of the British government. Mr. Moorcroft, who was in the country at the time, mentions that he and his party were most earnestly entreated to become the channel of a negotiation for putting the whole country under British rule. Mr. M. was at Peshawur when the application was made by Dost Mohamed's brothers, on behalf of their family; but his overtures have been, at least I think so, treated most unadvisedly, and himself, speaking with reference to past events, with injustice, when he was dispossessed of his throne.

By the treaty between Runjit Singh and Mr. (now Sir Charles) Metcalf, in 1809, and again, in that made between Lord William Bentinck and Runjit, at Rupur, in 1831, the latter was allowed to do all he pleased on the western side of the Sutlej; and the chief reason why we could not interfere in behalf of Dost Mohamed was, that we could not do so without breaking our faith with Runjit. At the Rupur meeting a paper had been delivered to the latter, at his own request, promising perpetual friendship from the British government. The treaty of 1809† was of the greatest use; its effect was to confine Runjit to the westward of the Sutlej; but when he asked for and obtained the Rupur paper, he had the conquest of Peshawur in his eye, and he foresaw that it would be as well to obtain a renewal of the promise of friendship. An attack upon Sinde, which he afterwards

* Dost Mohamed signifies the friend of Mahomed. Shah Shuja and Shah Zimán are Sirdozyes, descendants of an elder brother, Dost Mahomed: and the Barukzyes are descended from a younger brother.

† For this and some of the other matters here noticed, *vide* Prinsep's "Runjit Singh."

made preparations for, but which we stopped by telling him that we could not allow it, was also, no doubt, meditated by him whilst he was at Rupur; and, in fact, he mentioned the subject to two of the confidential officers of the Governor-general. It was, I believe, early in 1835 (I am not quite sure of the date) that he had made preparations for marching upon Sinde. He was told that it would not be allowed, and that a force would meet him from Bombay. He was very angry, and, as if afraid of committing himself in his anger, requested the political agent to withdraw for the present.

I think that Runjit's request for the Rupur paper shewed great foresight and cunning on his part, and the granting of it shewed but little on ours. Had he not intended to presume upon it, he would not have asked for it: in my humble judgment, it would have been sufficient to have referred him back to the first article of the treaty of 1809; and although we had told him that there was no occasion for any such paper as he asked for, and that we intended to adhere honestly to the former treaty, yet the refusal of it, with his comprehensive and reflecting mind, would have had the effect of making him more cautious, and more anxious to meet what he knew to be our wishes.

This was in the year 1831. On the 17th of February, 1833, Shah Shuja broke up his camp near Lodiana, and marched upon the expedition that was brought to a crisis by the action in which he was beaten by Dost Mohamed, near Kandahar, on the 30th of June, 1834. Mr. Masson the Numismatologist, and the Company's correspondent at Kabul, writing from Kabul,* remarks: "In the recent efforts of Shah Shuja there is little doubt but that, had a single British officer accompanied him, not as an ally or coadjutor, but as a mere reporter of proceedings to his own government, his simple appearance would have been sufficient to have procured the Shah's re-establishment in power."

By a treaty dated the 12th of March, 1833,† Runjit

* *Vide* Correspondence relating to Kabul and Afghanistan, p. 421.

† Correspondence, p. 369.

obtained from Shuja a grant (amongst many others) of Peshawur, which had always belonged to the Afghans, Shuja then being only still on his march for the recovery of his dominions, in which, as we have seen, he failed at Candahar. Runjit, however, soon acted upon this grant, and, in 1834, sent his grandson, No Nehal Singh,* to Peshawur, and took it by a *ruse.* The Sikhs asked that their chief might be allowed to see the town; he came attended by a large escort with fixed bayonets, who kept possession of it when once in the streets. Runjit then sent a letter to the political agent on the frontier, giving him information of this conquest, in which the following hypocritical passage occurs:—"Adverting to the everlasting relations of friendship that distinguish the union of the British and Sikh governments, and which, like the sun, are shining and resplendent, and also to the friendly light that sheds its brilliant influence on the hearts of the two parties, like the ruby of Budukshan, so that those who, from their gloomy and perverse minds, and their want of penetration, could not view without jealousy the friendship subsisting between the two high states, have become ashamed of themselves,—I offer you my congratulations on the victory obtained by Kour (Prince) No Nehal Singh, whose intrepidity and intelligence of character you predicted." This latter sentence was intended as a piece of flattery to the political agent, who, in his answer, properly told him that he was not at liberty to offer or receive congratulations.

A letter was received by Runjit from Dost Mohamed, on the 26th of July, 1834, stating that as he had dispossessed his brothers at Peshawur of their possessions, he hoped that he would restore them, and that they would continue to pay him the usual tribute of horses, &c. Runjit returned an unsatisfactory answer, and added, that his grandson had occupied Peshawur *of his own accord;* so the application ought to have been made first through him.—Corr. p. 376.

In consequence of this, Dost Mohamed, on the 2d of

* The new tree, or stem of the Sikhs.

January, 1835, quitted Kabul to attack the Sikhs at Peshawur, having first taken upon himself the title of Amir Shah Ghazi,—a Mussulman who fights for the faith.

Runjit prepared to receive him, and wrote to the political agent that the fun (tamasha) would soon begin. Dost Mohamed was unsuccessful, and the Sikhs kept possession of their new conquest. The Afghans returned to Kabul in a state of great excitement, and Mr. Masson writes, "The failure of Shah Shuja is now most sincerely to be lamented. I myself rejoiced at it at the time, but the event seems to prove that his success would have been felicitous to this country. The wishes of all classes turn to his restoration." —(Corr. p. 421.) In spite of all this, Dost Mohamed continued, by his abilities, to maintain himself at Kabul until we marched against him. The Russian agent remarked (Corr. p. 507), that the Russian government had more reliance on Dost Mohamed Khan's intellect and power than on the chiefs of Kandahar, because he, notwithstanding his poverty, and being without means, was fighting against the Sikhs, who were provided with every thing; and the sirdars of Kandahar were so senseless as to believe that Mohamed Shah, after conquering Herat, would give it over to them, which was absurd.

On the 31st of May, 1836, Dost Mohamed addressed a letter of compliment to Lord Auckland, the newly arrived Governor-general. The answer to this, for some reason with which I am unacquainted, unless it was owing to an interregnum which occurred between the retirement of Lord William Bentinck and the arrival of Lord Auckland, as I have already remarked in my "Visit to Ghizni," &c., p. 387, bore date the 22d of August, 1836, and it did not reach Kabul until a few days after I had quitted that city, on the 3d of October, 1836, when its contents gave great satisfaction, although the Afghans had been previously much annoyed on account of what appeared to them to be unreasonable delay.*

* *Vide* the Author's "Visit to Afghanistan," &c., p. 378, *et supra.*

In the Governor-general's answer, he says that he "intends to depute some gentleman to the court of Kabul, to discuss with you certain commercial topics, with a view to our mutual advantage," &c. Accordingly, Captain Burnes reached Kabul with his mission on the 20th of September, 1837, and was received in a very distinguished manner by the Amir, who soon, however, commenced talking about the restoration of Peshawur. After observing (Corr. p. 410) that the Indian government might rely with every confidence on his cordial co-operation in any measures which tended to promote the trade to Kabul and Turkistan, &c., he remarked that he was involved in difficulties which were very prejudicial to commerce. "My hostilities," he said, "with the Sikhs, narrow my resources, compel me to take up money from the merchants, and even to increase the duties to support the expense of the war. While we were engaged in resisting Shooja-ool-Moolk* at Kandahar, the city of Peshawur was seized from our family, and I had the mortification to discover among the papers of the ex-king, after his defeat, a treaty that made Peshawur the reward of the Sikhs, and to hurl me and mine from authority."

Dost Mohamed further told Captain Burnes, that if he advised it, he would send his son to Lahore, to ask Runjit Singh's forgiveness for what had passed, and if he (Runjit) would consent to give up Peshawur to him, he would hold it tributary to Lahore, &c.; that he (Dost Mohamed) had brothers at Peshawur, whose condition he must compassionate, &c.

Captain Burnes adds:—

"I am not aware how far this offer proceeds from a hope of future aggrandisement, or an intention to injure the Peshawur branch of his family; but it is now sufficient to report the sum of his views and wishes. By some, these offers may be construed nearly into a kind of moderation; by others they may be hailed as sincere proofs of the Amir's desire to

* The Lion of the Country.

terminate his differences with the Sikhs;—for whether Runjit Singh's policy suggests or not a compliance with them, they certainly shew that Dost Mohamed Khan is not likely to enter upon aggressive measures. Since my first visit in 1832," continues Captain Burnes, "he has added Jellàlabad to his country, and the most important change in his administration is the investiture of five of his sons in different governments—a policy which cannot be condemned, as it will certainly contribute to the stability of his government.

"With some, it is added—and perhaps they are the majority of his subjects—his wars with the Sikhs have gained him applause; but with one party, and that by far the most worthy of conciliation — the wealthy and mercantile classes, his campaigns have been viewed in a different light, and given great dissatisfaction."

Previously to the arrival of Captain Burnes' mission, Dost Mahomed and his brothers of Kandahar, being anxious for assistance from any quarter, had sent for assistance from Persia. "Kandahar," he writes to them, "the place of our nativity, has been threatened by Kamran (the Prince of Herat, a Sirdozye, son of Mahmoud, the brother of Shuja and Shah Zimán). These difficulties obliged us all to have recourse to the English, Persian, and Tartar government." —(Corr. p. 411, No. 8.)

The Shah of Persia was not slow in responding to Dost Mohamed's desire for an alliance. — (Corr. p. 406.) The bait held out to him, the Shah, was the possession of Herat, and the Amir told Captain Burnes that an Elchee (or ambassador) was then at Kandahar, bringing him presents, &c., and a promise of a krore of rupees, but assured him also that he did not place much reliance on the promised aid of Persia.

On the 25th of October, 1837, the Amir, in consequence of Captain Burnes' presence at Kabul, thinking it better to temporise, writes to his brothers at Kandahar, to request them not to send Omar Khan (the son of one of them) on a

mission to the Shah, in company with the Persian Elchee, who was going back; adding, that he understood they were going to do so in consequence of their hearing that a Persian army was coming to Herat.

On the 24th of October, 1837, Captain Burnes had also written to Kandahar, to advise them not to send Omar Khan to the Shah of Persia.

On the 31st of October, 1837 (Note to Corr. p. 414), Captain Burnes writes, "that the Kandahar rulers had finally resolved to send an Elchee to Persia; that the Amir, Dost Mohamed, told him that he had bitterly repented his ever having had anything to do with Persia, and the more so since he had received the Governor-general's notification of my deputation to this country."

It appears that Dost Mohamed was exceedingly unwilling to quarrel with us until it became absolutely necessary; and throughout the whole of the discussions which took place at Kabul, his brother, the good Nuwab Juba Khan, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve peace with the Indian government. But the Amir constantly insisted upon the surrender to him of Peshawur. He refused to allow the Sikhs to keep possession of it, and was also very unwilling that his own brother, Sultan Mohamed Khan, should again be restored to his chiefship, as he feared the result of his intrigues with Runjit there, and that he would be too much under the power of the latter. He (Dost Mohamed) had offered to render tribute, horses, and apology to Runjit, provided he himself were allowed to hold Peshawur under him. "*The differences of the Afghans and Sikhs*," he remarked, (Corr. p. 439,) "*can never be said to be adjusted so long as the Maharajah keeps his troops and officers at Peshawur;* and consequently, though I place every faith in the friendly intervention of the British, and know that the Maharajah must be left to himself, I am bound to state, that fresh causes for disturbance must arise if his Highness (Runjit) does not place my brother or an Afghan on Peshawur, and leave him to govern it, subject to his

(the Maharajah's) orders, but without the presence of Sikh troops."

Captain Burnes arrived in Kabul on the 20th of September, 1837. On the 21st of November, 1837, the Persians commenced the siege of Herat. Captain Burnes left Kabul for India, on the 26th of April, 1838, and the siege of Herat was not broken until the 9th of September, 1838.

On the 8th of December, 1837, the Russian agent, Captain Vickovich, arrived at Kabul, and was dismissed about the end of April, or the beginning of May, 1838; a short time after Captain Burnes had taken his departure. Too much weight is laid upon the fact of the dissensions between Dost Mohamed and his brothers, the Barukzyes. There was scarcely more than existed between the Sirdozyes, at different times, after the death of Timour Shah. Zimán, Mahmoud, Shuja, Ayub, and Sultan Ali, were all kings of Kabul in the life-time of each other. Dost Mohamed was a master-spirit, with acknowledged talent, but no money, or he would soon have quieted the dissensions around him. Napoleon used to say, that no man could be a great man without money.

Peshawur had, I believe, always belonged to the Afghans up to the time of its being taken by Runjit. In the "Ayin Akberi," it is mentioned, with the city of Kabul, as part of the soobah (division or province) of Kashmir. There cannot, I think, be a doubt that the Afghans will never give up the idea of its repossession, and that Shah Shuja has lost credit in their eyes for having agreed to give it up to the infidel Sikhs. Is it to be wondered at that Dost Mohamed, who is much his superior in energy, ability, and talent for government, should wish to regain it? or that, threatened by the Sikhs on one side, and Kamran of Herat on the other, and taunted by the Afghans with the loss of Peshawur, which was taken from him by a trick, after having been given up to the Sikhs by an ex-king, whom he afterwards drove out of the country, he should send for assistance to the Persians before the arrival of the Go-

vernor-general's letter of the 22d of August, 1836? and was it not creditable to him that, after Captain Burnes' arrival, he wrote (Oct. 25, 1837,) to his brothers at Kandahar, that now he had some hopes regarding Peshawur, and, in fact, wished them to discontinue the proposed alliance, or, at all events, not to send the envoy to Persia?

"The English want to extend their trade,"— such was the substance of his remarks—"I will give them every assistance, but they may trade as much as they please now. I want to be maintained in my position; I have twice won my throne with my sword. I wish to be a friend to the English, but should lose credit in the eyes of the Musalman world if I tamely give up Peshawur; and if the English will not give me assistance, I must get it whence I can."

Dost Mohamed may be charged with keeping several irons in the fire, but I do not think that he could be justly charged with being discontented and ambitious. When he first sent for assistance to Persia, Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador, had seized the opportunity of sending him a friendly letter, requesting him to write to him; and Dost Mohamed had also written to the Emperor of Russia, *viâ* Bokhara, in the beginning of 1836, informing him that the English government were inclined to support Shah Shuja, and addressed a letter to Lord Auckland about the same time (May 1836), probably afterwards.

On the 8th of December, 1837, as already remarked, the Russian agent arrived at Kabul, with a general promise of assistance and money. He was also the bearer of a second letter of introduction from Count Simonich, and was kindly received by the Amir. In this the Count said to the Amir, "I beg you will look upon him (Capt. Vickovich) like myself, and take his words as if they were from me."— (Corr. p. 473.) His offers are pitted against those of Captain Burnes. Dost Mohamed asks the latter what he can promise him; and Captain Burnes says that he is unable to make such and such promises, but that he will write to his government; upon which the Amir asks the Russian agent

what he can promise. The latter remarks to the Amir that the Emperor was an autocrat, and that he could then and there make him such and such promises, on the part of his master; and pointed out to the Amir the delay that would be caused by first sending to the council* at Calcutta, and afterwards to England, for an answer.

In the end Captain Burnes was obliged to quit Kabul.† The Russian agent was dismissed, as already remarked, a short time afterwards, and whilst the Persians were still at Herat. When Dost Mohamed heard that the expedition from India was approaching, he sent — as who would not? — messenger after messenger to the Russian ambassador and the Shah, urging them to settle affairs at Herat and come on to Kabul, when the country would be theirs. —(Corr. p. 496.)

All these disturbing causes might probably have been

* He used the word "punchyt," which signifies a native jury of five, and was a degrading term when applied to the Council at Calcutta.

† It is said that he had actually concluded a treaty with Dost Mohamed, by which mutual differences were adjusted; and that he was, to use a common phrase, thrown over by the Governor-general. Whether this was the case, and what was the nature of the treaty, if any; and whether he did not, in making it, exceed his instructions, is a question that can only be decided by a production of all papers connected with the proceedings at Kabul. I have heard that an inference to this effect has been drawn from the following passage in Captain Burnes' letter to Mr. M'Naghten, from Kabul, 25th April, 1838 (Corr. p. 448). "On the 15th I received another visit from Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan (of Kandahar), who was accompanied by the Nuwab Jubbar Khan, Meeza Sami Khan (Dost Mohamed's secretary), and the Naibs (generals) of Kandahar and Cabool. The deputation was a formal one, from both branches of the family. The Sirdar now informed me that the Amir had agreed to write to the Maharajah, through the Governor-general, to dismiss Captain Vickovich, to hold no farther communication with other powers, to write to the Shah of Persia that he had done with his Majesty for ever. The Sirdars of Kandahar, on their part, agreed to address the Shah, recall Ullahdad, the agent who had accompanied Kumber Ali, and to place themselves, along with their brother the Amir, entirely under the protection of the British Government; in return for which they claimed

prevented, not merely for the existence of the treaty of perpetual friendship with Runjit Singh, but for a sort of infatuation which seemed to exist in his favour, and to be extended even to a dislike to friendly representations of sufficient earnestness in favour of Dost Mohamed's claims.

In the report of Lieutenant Vickovich, the Russian agent, to Count Simonich, referred to in Captain Burnes' letter of the 8th of July, 1838 (Corr. p. 492), the Russian agent intimates (I do not know whether his information was correct or not), "Burnes declares that Runjit had received from the Company a proposal to give up Peshawur and other conquests, and that he would willingly comply with the wishes of the Company upon receiving intimation to that effect; but that on receiving such a proposition from Runjit, Lord Auckland replied that, in consequence of the approach of the Persian Shah to Herat, he decidedly advises Runjit to retain Peshawur, and oppose himself to the movements of the Shah." I repeat, that I do not know how far

at its hands two things—first, a direct promise of its good offices to establish peace at Peshawur, and an amelioration in the condition of Sultan Mohamed Khan; and second, a promise, equally direct, to afford them protection from Persia, in whatever way the British judged it best for their interests, it being clearly understood that Kandahar was not to be allowed to suffer injury."

I much doubt whether any treaty was signed; and I cannot extract such an inference as the foregoing from the just recited passage, because Captain Burnes tells them in his reply, that he is sceptical of their sincerity, and moreover, because the audience alluded to was on the 15th of April, 1838, and Captain Burnes quitted Kabul on the 26th, and it was not possible he could have received an answer from the Governor-general in the intervening time; and because, moreover, I look upon the words "a direct promise to establish peace at Peshawur" as very vague, and believe that if Dost Mohamed had *bonâ fide* intended to give up Peshawur, it would have been more explicitly mentioned.

Runjit was not expected to live from month to month, and if Dost Mohamed had really resigned his claims upon Peshawur during Runjit's lifetime, it would only have been deferring the evil day for a very short period, so that it may be doubted whether such an arrangement would have been of much value.

this be correct or not, but if this advice were given at the time when it was believed that the Persians would certainly take Herat and come on to India, there can be no doubt that there are many reasons in favour of its being the best that could be given under existing circumstances.

It may be justly urged in favour of our perpetual friendship with Runjit, that our north-western frontier was in a state of tranquillity for many years; but, in my humble judgment, it might have been preserved just as well without it. We slept upon it too much. It was a friendship of which *we* made no positive use up to the time of the expedition to Kabul. Runjit, on the contrary, was perpetually making some good use of it, and eventually took Peshawur; and thus threw a firebrand which embroiled us with the Afghans. We deprived ourselves of sufficient communication with the Afghanistan people, its passes, and the neighbouring country. I ought not to abuse the bridge I have traversed, and find fault with a policy that has enabled me to see much that no European traveller had seen before; but the fact is, that officers ought to have been sent to travel and explore all the countries on the north-west frontier, at least fifteen years ago; in which case the late, and still pending, unfortunate war would not have been as it has been, and still is, a war of experiment. Our north-west frontier was not like any other; it was the only one on which there was a chance of serious invasion, and we ought long ago to have known more of it. In this particular, Lord Auckland's predecessors are more to blame than he is.

After reading all this, there can be no doubt, I should think, in any person's mind, that Russia was thus seeking to extend her influence in the East, and that it had a tendency to injure our own. M. Vickovich, says Captain Burnes (Extract No. 6, Corr. p. 475), informed Dost Mohamed Khan that the Russian government had desired him to state his sincere sympathy with the difficulties under which he laboured; and that it would afford it great pleasure to assist

him in repelling the attacks of Runjit Singh on his dominions; that it was ready to furnish him with a sum of money for the purpose, and to continue the supply annually, expecting in return the Amir's good offices, &c.

All the diplomatists in the East seemed to be but of one opinion with regard to the designs of Russia; and there is no doubt that if the Persians had succeeded at Herat, the Afghans would have joined them. They would have come on to Peshawur *en masse*, with Russian officers in their camp.

In answer to the intimation from Captain Burnes, that a Russian agent had arrived at Kabul, Mr. M'Naghten writes to Captain Burnes (Jan. 20, 1838). "*His lordship attaches little importance to this mission of the Russian agent, although he will bring all the circumstances connected with it to the notice of the home authorities;* as it undoubtedly marks a desire which has long been known to exist on the part of the Russian government, to push at least the influence of their name to our Indian frontier; and the proceedings, especially of the Russian envoy at Tehran, in regard to it, are open to much observation." This, I venture to think, is exactly what should have been written under existing circumstances.

Upon Captain Burnes' return from Kabul, a council of all the north-western frontier diplomats, whose previous differences of opinion had been notorious, was held at Simla; it was finally determined by the Governor-general to reinstate Shuja, and a mission* was sent (in May 1838) to Lahore, to cement our perpetual friendship with Runjit, and arrange some matters connected with Lord Keane's expedition.†

Dost Mohamed, it is true (p. 425), remarked that he had little fear of Runjit's power to injure him at Kabul. But we learn from Captain Wade (p. 424) "that, considering

* *Vide* Osborne's "Runjit Singh."

† *Vide* the Treaty with Runjit Singh and Shah Shooja-ool-moolk, concluded at Lahore on the 26th of June, 1838.—(Corr. p. 293.)

the feelings of hostility with which the Maharajah views Dost Mohamed, and that he is now scarcely restrained (I do not know whether any interference was used) from prosecuting the war against the Amir, his Highness (Runjit) will not, in Captain Wade's opinion, be persuaded to abandon his hostile designs upon Kabul, without desiring to obtain terms of submission from its chief, to which the British Government would not wish to become a party."

Why Runjit should have entertained feelings of hostility against Dost Mohamed, I do not know, excepting that he found him to be as clever a fellow as himself; and it must not be forgotten that he shamefully ill treated Shah Shuja, Dost Mohamed's rival and our friend, when he was a prisoner at Lahore, and forced him to give up the celebrated Koh-i-nur diamond.*

More interference might, I think, have been used with beneficial effect. It is true, as already remarked, that Dost Mohamed, to use a common phrase, had several irons in the fire; that he was playing fast-and-loose; but he was seeking assistance necessary for the support of his position and his honour. He was made partly responsible for the follies of the Shah of Persia; and I think it will be inferred from the foregoing statements, that his dethronement was altogether an act of *injustice to him*. We will now inquire how far it was an act *of justice to own interests*.

In my narrative of my visit to Afghanistan (p. 387), I have remarked, that I have never doubted for an instant the correctness of that line of policy which it *eventually* became necessary to pursue, by sending the late expedition to Afghanistan; I have never doubted for an instant that it would succeed, or that Shah Shuja would be well received by the Afghans. By using the word *eventually*, I allude to the bad policy that preceded and caused what appeared to me to be the necessity for the dethronement of Dost Mohamed — an act rendered necessary by way of reparation for previous errors.

* The Mountain of Light.

It must not be forgotten that the many are now giving their opinions on the propriety of the Ghuzni expedition, *after* the fact of its discomfiture; and I do not think myself wrong in saying, that those who have not been in the East can have but scanty pretensions to any thing more than speculation and conjecture upon Eastern matters, without being in possession of something like a continuous chain of undisputed facts.

But opinions emanating from high, and the highest sources, have been recorded, in previous condemnation of the expedition across the Indus. "Triumph you may;—confident you may be, as I am, in the gallantry of your troops; but when, through your gallantries, the victory has been gained, and you have succeeded, then will come your embarrassments."* And the warning, alike prophetic in its whole tendency, and discriminating in its details of good and evil result, was unfortunately disregarded. We did triumph, through the gallantry of our troops; and the triumph was succeeded by embarrassment, and blighted by unprecedented disaster.

But let it not be supposed that nothing can be said in defence of the measure. Many of the objections raised against passing the Indus—at least I should humbly conceive so—were broadly made because the Indus is the natural boundary of Hindustan. But, it may be remarked that it was not the boundary of *our* possessions, and that that was one of the reasons why it was thought right to cross it. Had our territories been extended up to it, we should have remained in security behind it. Our object was to secure a friendly power in a country where a friendly power was of importance to us, and where, had it continued as it latterly was, unfriendly and opposed to our interests, it was reasonably concluded that much further harm might have been inflicted, by the increase of Russian influence. We now know practically

* It is unnecessary to add, that these are the words of the Duke of Wellington, as quoted in Lord Stanley's speech on the Income Tax, April 11, 1842.

the nature of its passes, and the approaches to Hindustan by way of Kabul; we did not know them, comparatively speaking, before, nor is it likely to be forgotten that they were far more formidable than was expected.

Let us shortly refer to the opinions of the different diplomatists that preceded the expedition.

Mr. Ellis, in a letter dated 15th January, 1836, writes to Lord Palmerston from Persia,—"I feel quite assured that the British Government cannot permit the extension of the Persian monarchy in the direction of Afghanistan, with a due regard to the internal tranquillity of Central India; that extension will at once bring Russian influence to the very threshold of our empire."—(Corr. p. 8.) He also writes in the annexed memorandum, "The progress of Persia ought to receive every opposition from the British Government that the obligations of public faith will permit."

Sir John M'Neill (Corr. p. 185), referring to the refusal of the Persian Government to give reparation and satisfaction for the violence offered to his messenger, remarks, that "some public act of reparation, which will prove to the people of Persia and Afghanistan that we are not to be insulted with impunity, is, in my opinion, indisputably necessary; I will not say to restore us to our former position, but to enable us to retain one of any credit or respectability."

He remarks (Corr. p. 198), "The Persian Government is prosecuting schemes of almost undisguised hostilities towards England."

Again he says (Corr. p. 187), "Count Simonich certainly threatened Mohamed Ameen, a servant of Yar Mohamed Khan (minister to Prince Kamran, of Herat), who was sent with a message from his master to the Persian camp, that if Herat did not surrender to the Shah, he would march a Russian army against it."

Also, "In a conversation with a Persian gentleman at Tehran, Count Simonich had stated his having advised the Shah, after the fall of Herat, to turn his attention to Sinde."

Also, in the same letter, "Count Simonich, being lame from a wound, drove his carriage the whole way from Tehran to Herat, and could drive it to Kandahar; and the Shah's army has now, for nearly seven months, subsisted almost exclusively on the supplies of the country immediately around Herat and Ghorian, leaving the still more productive districts of Subzar and Farrah untouched. In short, I can state, from personal observation, there is absolutely no impediment to the march of an army to Herat; and that, from all the information I have received, the country between that city and Kandahar not only presents no difficulty, but affords remarkable facilities for the passage of armies," &c.

Also (Corr. p. 193), "The hope of receiving the submission of all Afghanistan will be a very strong inducement to the Shah to persevere in the enterprise in which he is engaged."

Also (Corr. p. 197), "At this moment the united influence of Persia and Russia would appear to be established in all the Afghan dominions."

Also (p. 194), Sir John M'Neill remarks, "In short, if Herat should fall, and if the treaty has really been guaranteed by Russia, and not by Count Simonich personally, Russia becomes by it indisputable mistress of the destinies, political and commercial, of all Central Asia; Great Britain having been forced back to the Indus, Khiva and Bokhara must submit, if they are attacked, while Persia and Afghanistan will already be entirely at her disposal.*

* It is right to add here, with reference to the last foregoing passages, that Count Nesselrode informed Lord Durham, that if Count Simonich had acted in the manner stated by Mr. M'Neill, he had done that which was in direct opposition to his instructions. The Count had been distinctly ordered to dissuade the Shah from prosecuting the present war, at any time and in any circumstances. His Excellency said, that he was convinced that our minister had been misinformed, and that Count Simonich had never given any such advice to the Shah as that which was attributed to him. Count Nesselrode further stated, that he entirely agreed with the English Government, as to the folly and impolicy of the course pursued by the Persian monarch. — *Vide* "Quarterly Review," June 1839, p. 153.

In a translated extract of a letter from Dost Mohamed to Mohamed Shah of Persia, the Amir thus expresses himself (Corr. p. 482): "As the Shah (your majesty) was at a distance, I kept Captain Burnes in evasive discourse, and on hearing the sure information of your majesty's arrival at Herat, I dismissed him instantly." This in substance was true, excepting as to the latter word.

Corr. p. 496.—"Dost Mohamed having heard that Lord Auckland had entered into a treaty with Runjit Singh to restore Shooja-ool-moolk, now sends messenger after messenger to the Russian ambassador and the Shah, urging them to settle affairs at Herat and come on to Kabul, when the country will be theirs."

Corr. p. 423.—Captain Wade says, "I submit my opinions, with every reference to the wisdom of his Lordship's decision; but it occurs to me that less violence would be done to the prejudices of the people, and to the safety and well-being of our relations with foreign powers by facilitating the restoration of Shah Shuja, than by forcing the Afghans to submit to the sovereignty of the Amir." And he quotes the opinion of Mr. Masson at Kabul. "The likelihood is, that affairs will become worse instead of better. The British Government could employ interference without offending half-a-dozen individuals. Shah Shuja, under their auspices, would not encounter opposition, and the Amir and his friends, if he have any, must yield to his terms or become fugitives."

Captain Burnes writes from Jellalabad (Corr. p. 458), "I inquired into the truth of the reports in circulation regarding the Amir having actually gone over to Persia, and sought the security of Russia. The reply was, that they were too true, and that Captain Vickovich had promised to get the guarantee of Russia to all their arrangements," &c.

Again: "The chief of Kabul still gives out that he would not trust Persia alone; but seconded by M. Goutte and Captain Vickovich he considers the Russian guarantee will gain for him all his ends, and besides being able suc-

cessfully to contend with the Sikhs, as certain of ministering to his ambition and fixing his supremacy."

Again (Corr. p. 487), Captain Burnes remarks, "I have only again to repeat my most deliberate conviction, founded on much reflection, regarding the passing events in Central Asia, that consequences of the most serious nature must in the end flow from them, unless the British Government applies a prompt, active, and decided counteraction."

Again (Corr. p. 499), Captain Burnes writes from Shikarpore (after the Ghuzni expedition had marched), "The presence of the Russian agent at Kandahar tallies but ill with the Shah's acceding to our requests, as reported by Colonel Stoddart; or are we now to make a distinction between Russian and Persian intrigues, and conclude at once that the former wish to approach India without Persia as a cloak?"

Captain Vickovich, it appears, returned to Kandahar with money for the Sirdars, in order to induce them to march again towards Herat, and told them that Dost Mohamed would receive 40,000 ducats from the treasury at Kirman within three months; and Captain Burnes again writes (Corr. p. 500), "That the Shah pointed out to the ambassador (Count Simonich) that it was not according to treaty that Russian forces should march through Persia; but now his majesty would bring no objection, if that government would send their army through it to reduce any country they liked."

Again he adds, "The Sirdars (of Kandahar) and Captain Vickovich wrote separate letters to the Amirs of Sinde, saying, that they should remain quiet for three months, and the Amirs would soon see them on the Indus with their army." These last extracts from Shikarpore could have had, of course, no influence in the mere planning of the expedition.

Now, when it is considered that Russian invasion, even in a state of profound peace, is the grand military topic of

conversation in India—when it was considered to be an established fact that there were no physical obstacles in the way of the march of a Russian army—when each of the few travellers who visited the intervening countries had justly thought that their accounts would be incomplete without saying all they knew, all they had heard, and all they could conjecture, on the subject, and all, I believe, agreeing in the possibility of Russian invasion—when every foreigner who visited India was considered by the many, whatever his rank or occupation, to be no more or less of a spy—when the newspapers, whether right or wrong, never let slip an opportunity of referring to the subject of Russian invasion, some idea may be formed of the excitement caused by the authentic information of a Persian army, encouraged, as it was said and believed, by Russia, and with Russian officers amongst them, having marched to Herat, and that the city was nearly reduced to extremities.

Every little incident tended to increase the anxiety that prevailed, not amongst the troops, but to those to whom India was a home. It is true that Lord Auckland writes to the Secret Committee (Corr. p. 392), "That there is every likelihood of remaining on amicable terms with Ava, and that the state of Nepal has recently and voluntarily disclaimed having the slightest intention of hostility towards our power."* But at a time when the greatest excitement prevailed, I forget the date, a Ghooka, or Nepalese chief, of high rank, arrived at Lodiana, with, it was said, the avowed intention of proceeding to Herat, and inviting the Persians forward. How truly I do not know; but he was detained for a short time by order from Lodiana, and allowed to cross the Sutlij by mistake of the then *locum tenens* of Captain Wade, who was absent. Runjit Singh received the Ghooka chief with marked distinction. I do not know what became of him, but the importance of the whole affair was

* In the same letter, alluding to our own possessions, his Lordship writes: "A more than usual excitement prevails throughout our Indian territory."—*Vide supra.*

much magnified, though there is little doubt that he would have done us all the harm he could.

The climax of excitement was arrived at when it was understood that a Russian agent had arrived at Kabul, and that Capt. Burnes had been obliged to quit the city in consequence of his arrival. The siege of Herat still continued, with every prospect of its being taken; and the subsequent advance of the Persians and Afghans, and perhaps of the Sindians also, in one vast body, to the invasion of the Panjab, and perhaps of India. The "gentlemen of England, who sit at home at ease," can form no idea of the excitement that prevailed. All eyes were directed to the north-west frontier. The efforts of Russian intrigue and influence were believed to be in full play at Kabul (we did not, be it remembered, then know the strength of the mountain-passes between us); and Lord Auckland justly remarked, in the Simla Minute of May 12, 1838 (Corr. p. 389), that "*the extraordinary excitement which has been produced in the public mind, as well in the Panjab as in Afghanistan, in consequence of the approach of the Persian power*, is also a signal to us of the mischief that might arise were that power to acquire a settled authority or influence over all the Afghan country."

The Governor-general finally determined to reinstate Shah Shuja; and who will venture to affirm positively that other Governor-generals, under similar circumstances, a similar want of information, and similar excitement, would not have done the same? None have been placed in a similar position, none had hitherto been so peremptorily called to interfere from the other side of the Indus. It was judged better to go and fight than wait and fight.

It is said that the expedition was concocted in England. How much the less responsibility is attributable to Lord Auckland is known to those who are best acquainted with this fact. It is said that the Indian government would have allowed and wished for the invasion of Afghanistan by Runjit. When I returned from Kabul I was asked by General Ventura whether (I forget the exact words) a Sikh

army could reach Kabul? and I well remember telling him that they could not. Allowing, encouraging, or conniving at a Sikh invasion was a very different thing from invasion by ourselves. If Runjit succeeded, he was our friend; we had a hold upon him in the Panjab. If he weakened himself by a failure, we might have been obliged to take the Panjab, and should not have thought it necessary to go to Kabul ourselves.

"The operations which we are about to undertake," so Lord Auckland writes to the Secret Committee, dated Simla, August 13, 1838, "will doubtless be attended with much expense; but this consideration must, I feel assured, be held comparatively light when contrasted with the magnitude of the object to be gained, which is no less than to raise up a barrier to all encroachments from the westward. We shall, at all events, by the means we are adopting, avert a danger immediately threatening us, at a period when a more than usual excitement prevails throughout our Indian territory, and we shall gain time (ample, if judiciously employed) to strengthen our frontier, and render us independent of external aid in warding off such designs as those which have now been clearly developed.

"I have acted in a crisis which has suddenly arisen, and at a period *when appearances in every quarter were the most threatening to the tranquillity of the British Indian empire* in the manner which has seemed to me essential to ensure the safety and assert the power and dignity of our Government."—(Corr. p. 393.)

I believe, I hope, I am not wrong in remarking that some of the principal authorities in India were not only for crossing the Indus, but for marching at once to Herat, and driving back the Persians, and thus bearding the Shah on the very threshold of his dominions.

It has been suggested that Shah Shuja might have been sent forward with a supply of money, and some British officers in command of his contingent. With great deference, I feel persuaded that Dost Mohamed would have

been too much for him. It is more than doubtful that he would not have taken Ghuzni as we did. The Afghans would have been suspicious of him; he had resigned Peshawur to Runjit; and they would have known that, however willing we might be that he should succeed, we did not intend to support him by the force of our arms. As long as we supported him, his having given up Peshawur was of little consequence.

But it will be remarked that the extraordinary excitement must have subsided when the Persians at length raised the siege of Herat, because the reasons for the dethronement of Dost Mohamed must have for the most part disappeared at the same time.

The siege of Herat, which had kept India in a state of the greatest excitement for ten months, was broken up on the 9th of September, 1838, and the first detachments of the Bengal army marched from Firozpur, under Major-general Sir Willoughby Cotton, on the 10th of November, 1838.

The Governor-general, in his orders (Secret Department, 8th November, 1838), writes, when speaking of the Persians having retired from before Herat, "In giving publicity to this important intelligence, the Governor-general deems it proper at the same time to notify that while he regards the relinquishment by the Shah of Persia of his hostile designs upon Herat as a just cause of congratulation to the Government of British India and its allies, he will continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier."

It must be admitted, I think, that in our then utter ignorance of the nature of the Bolan pass, a British army could not, if it were to march at all, have marched at a time when it could have done its work, viz., the restoration of Shah Shuja, as a friendly monarch, at Kabul, more easily and quickly than after the retirement of the Persians from

Herat. There was then no quarter from which Dost Mohamed could expect assistance.

Before their departure, Captain Burnes receives an account (Corr. p. 496) that "he (Dost Mohamed) is no longer popular" (this would tend to shew that he had been so once); "his joining the Russians has utterly ruined him in the eyes of all Mohammedans."

After their departure he was left to his own resources, and his dethronement, it was reasonably thought, would not be the less difficult, or occupy more time, or be more expensive, on that account, and the expedition proceeded, because it seemed to be the most favourable opportunity for establishing a friendly and legitimate monarch on the throne of Kabul. It is probable that, had it not proceeded, it would only have been deferred to some other time.

The Nepal war was a war of experiment, with regard to our ignorance of the country; the Burmese war was still more so; the war of Afghanistan was a war of experiment, as every war on the frontier of India must be, for the first time that it is engaged in; but the latter was a bolder war of experiment than any of the others; the stake played for was beyond comparison greater than in either of the others, whilst the chances of failure were, in fact, more numerous, though not contemplated, because its advisers were comparatively unacquainted (as was the case in the Burmese war, which occupied as many months as it would now occupy weeks, because we knew so little of the passes), with the strength and paltry resources of the country we were about to invade.

Had it succeeded,—had the troops been withdrawn,—had Shah Shuja been quickly re-established,—what would then have been thought of it? It is not fair to say now that the expedition was altogether objectionable, merely because it has been followed by disaster.

Shah Shuja says (Corr. p. 337) that order and regularity would be established in three or four months after his restoration. This was in 1832, when he was about to proceed

on his first expedition. As he was soliciting assistance from Lord William Bentinck, he spoke, of course, as favourably as he could for his own cause.

Lord Auckland, in his declaration of the 1st of October, 1838 (Corr. p. 302), says, "His Majesty Shah Shuja will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The Governor-general confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan re-established, the British army will be withdrawn."

Such, no doubt, in conformity with the above declaration, would have been the case.

It is true that the time occupied in settling the country was much longer than was anticipated, but it is probable that the troops, excepting Shah Shuja's contingent, would all have been withdrawn, had it not been for the late disasters, as soon as the passes were open in this spring; and in that case the expedition might, I suppose, have been said to have had a successful issue, although, as I have remarked, the expenditure of time, blood, and money, was so much greater than was contemplated.

The truth is, I believe, that it so nearly succeeded, that the disasters, in my humble judgment, will be found to be the result of a negligence consequent upon a belief,—a well-founded belief (for I am no believer in any deep-laid or long-organised conspiracy), that all was quiet and going on well.

In a letter to myself from Sir Alexander Burnes, from Kabul, of the 16th September, 1841, two months and a half before he was assassinated, that lamented officer says:—"*Afghans and Afghanistan are by no means so bad as you see them painted. About Kandahar certainly they are far from settled, but around Kabul all is peace; and, had I the power, all the troops, save the Shah's, should be recalled. My only*

*fears are for the denationalising of the country by our troops having all to do, and our leaving the king a cipher. But I think we are getting cured of this. I, for one, only regard Afghanistan as an outwork, and would have all our regular troops within the Indus."**

We have surely, therefore, reason to believe that confidence and negligence followed upon success, however expensive that success might have been,—but we know little of particulars as yet. We know that the commissariat was taken, and which of the warmest opposers of the measure would have dreamed of their not taking care of that? The taking of the commissariat, upon which their very existence depended, could surely never be said to be a misfortune within the range of contemplated probabilities. As well might the opposers of the measure say that they had contemplated such a disaster, if the falling of the walls of Jellalabad, by the earthquake, had enabled the enemy to destroy the gallant detachment under the command of Sir Robert Sale. Great expense had been, it is true, incurred, difficulties had been mastered by the bravery of our troops, but embarrassments had comparatively ceased, and the wished-for result of the expedition seemed in a fair way to be obtained. Serious disturbances suddenly arise at Kabul, for which many reasons have been given—we do not know the right ones; Sir Alexander Burnes was murdered — we do not know why; the commissariat is attacked and burnt, —although gallantly defended. But for that, in spite of General Sale's absence, all might still have been well, because the troops would have had subsistence; and when that was taken from them, and the aspect of affairs was so entirely changed, what a certainty of coming horrors must have presented itself! It is said that one officer, in parti-

* It has been supposed by some that Sir Alexander Burnes was an enemy of Dost Mohamed. I believe that nothing can be farther from the truth. No man was more awake to his talents and abilities for governing. He would have had him taken by the hand, and only turned against him when it became his duty to do so.

cular, sent in the strongest remonstrances against the relatively insecure positions of the cantonment and commissariat.

I must trouble my readers with a few words more. We know, as I have already remarked, but very little connected with the recent disasters. We know that Sir Robert Sale was sent to chastise the Ghilzye mountaineers, who, it is said, had risen in consequence of their not receiving the money which was paid to them for keeping the passes open; but the public do not know the particulars connected with their rising. In this particular the greatest blame is to be attached somewhere, but we do not know whether it was by the opinion and act of the envoy alone, or by the counsel of others, that the money was withheld; but after reading the above extract from Sir Alexander Burnes' letter, it will be inferred that *they believed they could do any thing they pleased in the country*. We know that General Sale forced the pass, and was absent from Kabul at the outbreak, so that the army at Kabul was deprived of his assistance. It might turn out to be a *ruse* on the part of the Ghilzyes, for the purpose of dividing the British forces, but I venture to think that it will not turn out to be so. It may be inferred by some, after reading the extract from Sir Alexander Burnes' letter, that a lull was merely preceding a storm, and that whilst all was apparently so quiet, a deep-laid conspiracy was only waiting its hour of maturity; and that the destruction of the British army had been long in contemplation. It may be so; but I much doubt it: the Afghans are not the people to conceal a conspiracy, even if one had existed. They are a brave, open-hearted, and simple people, without the cunning or abilities of the Persian and Kashmirian. They are not the people who could long keep a secret of deep import. I believe the whole affair to have been caused by some sudden or nearly sudden excitement; and that when they had once commenced they opened their eyes to the chances in their favour arising from the capture of the commissariat, the coming winter, and Sir Robert Sale's prevented return.

One reason assigned for the outbreak was that some of

the principal chiefs thought they were going to be sent as prisoners to Hindustan; another, that some of the chiefs were ordered to disband their retainers, and that a number of Afghan Sepahis were thus exasperated by being suddenly deprived of their pay. Another reason is, that Kabul had become a modern Capua, and that insult had been offered to the natives in the persons of their wives and daughters. This last reason, if true, and I think it highly probable that there is truth in it, would be sufficient cause for an outbreak. Many other reasons are given; but we do not yet know the true ones.

We do not know who assassinated Sir Wm. M'Naghten. Mahomed Akbar Khan has been accused of it. Europe is the country for Sydneys and Bayards, there are none in the East. Appearances are very much against him; but it is more likely to have been the work of a Ghazi, or religious fanatic. I am inclined to believe again that it will be found upon investigation that he had no power over the wild tribes that lined each side of the Khord Kabul pass; and that, although he might be glad that we should leave the country, he would, had he had the power, have suffered us to retire without molestation. It required all his father's (Dost Mohamed) energy to manage the different mountain tribes in a season of peace; and what then, with revenge within their grasp, would they care for a treaty for the evacuation of the country, signed by those who had no control over them?

Appearances again are against Shah Shuja; but I do not at present believe that he has been playing false. It is true that he still maintains himself in the Bala Hissar,* whilst the chiefs around him are quarrelling amongst themselves. It is far more probable that his name has been made use of by others for the furtherance of their own purposes; and that his sanction and approval of this or that measure may have been dictated by prudence, may have been obtained by coercion, and under the promise of security of place, person,

* It appears by the mail just arrived that he has been murdered.—June 6, 1842.

and property to himself. And how far would he be blameable if his people had been insulted in the persons of their wives and daughters?

What we know as a certainty is, that the force was divided, and that the commissariat was taken; because, had it not been taken, the army might have been perfectly safe at this moment. We know also that the treaty for evacuation of the country was signed. We know, also, as already remarked, with regard to the commissariat, that the greatest blame is attached somewhere; but whether to those who placed it too far from the cantonment, or to the military authorities for not taking better care of it, or to both, we know not at present. The Governor-general himself was not, and could not be, on the spot.

With regard to the signing of the treaty of evacuation, all we know is, that it was signed; but of the circumstances attending the signature we know but little or nothing. Remarks alike cruel, because they have been unjust, and unjust because they have been made in ignorance of facts, were immediately and unsparingly made upon the conduct of our unfortunate countrymen and the troops at Kabul. Although every letter that appeared in the newspapers has stated some fact which has a tendency to refute what had been supposed and commented upon before; there has been a drum-head court-martial in every society, and the conduct of British officers has been commented upon as if its members had been in possession of the fullest evidence, and all parties concerned had been fully heard in their own defence.

I venture to suggest, that the surrender of belief to any but the general certainties I have just noticed must as yet be premature; that no connected statement in detail has been received that is worthy of credit; and that no decided conclusions can as yet be arrived at. It is not improbable that jealousies may have existed, for jealousies are, unfortunately, not uncommon amongst Indian diplomatists. There may have been disgust; there may have been dissensions;

there must have been negligence; there may have been insubordination and open mutiny; but we do not know enough to form a judgment in detail. I most certainly would not pin my faith upon the opinions expressed in this or that particular letter;* and when I add that the best authorities in India are not as yet,† I believe, possessed of certain information upon the points here adverted to, it would surely be thought better to await the result of a regular investigation before we in England should venture to pronounce a judgment upon the conduct of the far-removed and devoted brave; at a time, too, when they were about to suffer from a want of sustenance and the inclemency of a Kabul winter in their retreat, with ladies under their protection, through the very strong passes of an enemy's country, that is mountainous for the greater part of the way to Jellalabad, lying more than 100 miles to the eastward of them.

We are not to suppose, again, that no good is to be expected from the late expedition and its melancholy end. With a proper watchfulness over our own interests, and a cordial and much-wanted co-operation amongst the diplomatists under the meridian of the Indus, we have now every reason to know that a Russian invasion is no longer the bugbear that it was; and that in the common course of events, the question is set at rest for ever. We know what we did not know before, the tremendous strength of the approaches to India from the north-west. The Gornul pass‡ which I ascended with the Lohanis, is in some places quite as formidable as the others. There was one spot in particular where a camel could not proceed without being

* Of course I allude to such as have been written since the commencement of the outbreak.

† Up to this mail, Monday, June 6, 1842.

‡ The difficult places in the Gornul pass, and probably in the others, are formed by the mural sides, and abrupt precipices of shingly conglomerate, evidently upraised from its horizontal bed, and often having the appearance of having been subsequently disturbed by earthquakes.

unladen. There is another pass I believe, from Bunu Tak, *viâ* Kanegorum, by which the Tak Rajah made his escape from the Sikhs, and arrived at Kabul when I was there. From all I could collect, it was of the same nature as the others. There are also, I believe, one or two more through the mountains to the north of it. Captain Vickovich, in his letter to Count Simonich (Corr. p. 495), writes, that the geographical position of Afghanistan makes it the only . . . .* through which a conqueror can . . . . From Candahar to the very shores of the ocean . . . . barren deserts which can never be passable by any kind of military force. On the north and northwest the road from Turkeston is bounded (closed by the strong pass of the Hindu Kosh, which has only two roads hardly passable for the space of four . . . . . either months, or some word implying distance) for military stores or supplies of an army.

Our engineers, again, have not been idle; they have made excellent military surveys of the country; and if the Russians should at any time descend upon Herat or Bokhara, we should not then be disposed to quarrel with the satisfactory knowledge and experience which we now have, and which was most undoubtedly wanted, however great and melancholy may be the sacrifice at which it has been obtained. As far as important information and experience is concerned, Lord Auckland—could we but conceal the cost at which it has been obtained—will have benefited our East Indian possessions more than any other Governor-general that has preceded him.

We know also better than ever that the Sikhs are in a corner from which they cannot escape, and that when it may become necessary to invade their territories, we know that the Panjab would become an easy prey.

The peaceable and friendly disposition which has hitherto been manifested by the Sikhs throughout the Afghan war, must be mainly attributed to good management of our

* These omissions occur in the translated letter.

political agents. After Sir Robert Sale has been relieved and the prisoners have been ransomed, it would not be difficult to find, for the British army now collected at Peshawur, another and a more politic employment, although at this moment a very unjust one, than forcing their way to Kabul.

The wild tribes of Afghanistan only fought for their religion and their country—*pro aris et focis.* We may, if we proceed, reconquer them; and justice will be dealt where actual treachery is proved: revenge, of course, would be unworthy of our name. Let us get as much information as possible, and make a display of our power, but leave them alone at Kabul for the present. We should take nothing by our motion, and the Afghans and other Oriental nations have sense enough to know that we were beaten less by them than by snow and want of subsistence.* There is no chief with whom we can treat without supporting him by a subsidy at the same time. Dost Mohamed was a master spirit, who, if supplied with money, could have supported himself, and organised a dynasty without the presence of a British army. It may be much doubted whether there is any other man in Afghanistan who could do so. We can never have a firm and effective friend on the throne of Kabul without supplying him with money (if not a contingent),—at least: it is the penalty we must pay for our relative position; and we may then rest, but not sleep, upon our oars, until we think that Russian influence may be again so far or so unfairly advanced as to demand a more active interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.

There is one individual of whom I gladly take this opportunity of making honourable mention; and that is, the Nuwab Jubar Khan, Dost Mohamed's brother. Every English traveller that has arrived at Kabul, and properly accredited, has been received into his house, and treated and protected as his guest during his stay. From the first dawn of his brother's political power he has been most anxious for the friendship of

* Vide Note at the end of these Observations.

the Indian Government; and during the time that Dost Mohamed was listening attentively to the representations of Sir Alexander Burnes and Captain Vickovich, he was exerting himself to the utmost for the preservation of peace. He has now, I see by the papers — and nothing is more probable — taken an English child (Mrs. Anderson's) under his protection; and I feel perfectly certain that he will extend his good offices, and do his utmost to the protection of any British persons that come within his ken. The Nuwab has long deserved the sympathy of the Indian community. A letter of thanks, or any other more substantial or approved method of shewing in what manner, although he is the brother of Dost Mohamed, we can appreciate his character and kindness, will be more productive of good, and tend more to induce return of a general good feeling towards us in Afghanistan, than might be expected to follow from our notice of an individual.

*** The chief part of the foregoing observations were printed before the arrival of the mail despatches published to-day (June 6th, 1842); and scarcely any alteration has since been made in them. By this time, in the common course of events, there can be no doubt the heroes of Jellalabad have been relieved. The heroines are not far off, and it is to be hoped that they will be saved harmless also.

It appears that the British army is about to proceed to Kabul. The sooner they finish their investigations and their other work, the better, whatever it may be. Shah Shuja is said to have been assassinated. Afghanistan is a country that can never pay for its occupation; at present, it is in a state of anarchy in consequence of his death. If so, Dost Mohamed is the only man in existence who is capable of restoring it to a semblance of unity and prosperity; and I, for one, would venture to advocate his restoration — or rather his liberation — conditionally, of course: there is no help for it; otherwise we should have to remain in the country altogether. I would supply him with a little money, allow him to go forward and manage matters in his own way, and he would soon be the Amir of Kabul

again. There would be some difficulty, it must be allowed, in dealing with the father as a king, after having put the son to death (supposing he be proved one) as an assassin. But I do not think that Dost Mohamed would behave the worse to us for the treatment he has received at our hands; he has always respected us, and will have seen nothing in India to lessen his respect for us. Besides, it would scarcely be in his power to injure us, as he would never think of asking the Persians to assist him, unless he were fretted by the Sikhs from the eastward, which we ought to take care that he is not. His brother, the Nuwab, will never be our enemy. By the treaty of Lahore, signed 26th of June, 1838, to which Lord Auckland, Runjit, and Shah Shuja, were parties, Shah Shuja disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, to (amongst other places) Peshawur, &c. If we cannot occupy the Indus as our own, we might manage to occupy Peshawur, by a treaty with the Sikhs, and so fortify the Khyber Pass as to secure it to ourselves for the future. If we occupied Peshawur, or a strong fort near it, there will be no fear of the commencement of hostilities by them. It would lead to a rupture with them, and they know that we could then take the Panjab. Towards the west, on the other hand, we should, by such an arrangement, obtain a means of check upon the chief of Kabul, by having it in our power to occupy Jellalabad.

Shah Kamran of Herat, a Sirdozye son of Mahmoud, the brother of Shah Shuja and Zimán, is also dead; and this is the amount of public information that has been received from that city. If Dost Mohamed were restored, and Herat fell under the dominion of the Barukzyes, so much the better for unhappy Afghanistan, and none the worse for us. The intents of Russia and Persia are not the same, as Persia must lose where Russian influence increases: and whether anarchy or confusion may exist in Afghanistan, or whether its parties may be held together by the vigorous government of Dost Mohamed, we may be assured that if the heretic and hated Shiahs from Persia, were again to attempt the reduction of Herat, they would find that the Sunis would forget their own quarrels, and unite to defend it, and probably not less successfully than before; provided, of course, as already remarked, that they have nothing to fear from the eastward.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

MAP of Kashmir, with its Passes, Ladak, and Little Tibet, the Alpine Panjab, &c. &c..... *Pocket to the Volume.*

Sher Singh, the present Maharajah of the Panjab ... *Frontispiece.*

Distant View of Sirinagur, or the City of Kashmir .... Page 375

Portrait of Samud Shah, a Kashmirian Mahometan and Ex-Malek of Shahbad 325

Great Hindu Temple of Martund 385

Sketch Map, to accompany the Geological Notice of Kashmir 275

VIGNETTES.

Musjid of Deodar..... 269

North Gate of the Great Temple of Martund 386

Front of the Interior Building..... 388

View of the Interior..... 390

Arches in the Ruins in Kashmir..... 399

Specimens of Hindu Architecture 402

VOL. II.

Ahmed Shah, the Gylfo, or Rajah, of Iskardo ..... *Frontispiece.*

Valley of the Indus in Little Tibet..... Page 192

Costume of a Kashmirian Lady 72

View on the Jylum, in the Interior of the City of Kashmir .. 82

Chahar Chunar, or Isle of Chunars..... 104

Achmet Ali Khan, Son of Ahmed Shah of Iskardo..... 221

Game of the Chaughán, as played in Little Tibet 289

VIGNETTES.

Temple at Pay Yech..... 40

Rock of Iskardo..... 246

Swing Bridge at Tolti..... 325

Ladakis loading their Yak 370

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE

PREFACE iii

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England — Singular Anecdote — Constantinople — Mr. Cartwright, the Consul-General — Trebizond — Sporting — Khurdistán — A Kurdish Village — Erzeroum — Its Turkish Governor — Entrance into Persia — Mount Ararat — Tabriz — Dr. Cormick — Travelling in Persia — Tehran — Grand Dinner — Abbas Mirza — Wild Sheep — Trout-fishing — Kushan Scorpions — An Awkward Mistake — Ispahan — A Robber-chief — Ruins of Persepolis — Shiraz — Tombs of Sadi and Hafiz — Wine of Shiraz — Wild Hogs — Bushir — Hawking — English Detachment — Coursing the Wild Antelope — Voyage to Bombay — The Gueber's Mountain — First Impressions — Busy Scene — The Parsis — Trip to the Himalaya — Elephanta — Captain Outram — A Natural Preserve — A Lady Sportsman — Leopard-hunting — Tiger-hunting — Plains of Assaye — Singular Caves — Bhúranpúr — Magnificent Fortress — Jypur — Delhi — Valley of Pinjor — Dr. Gerard — Captain

PAGE

Kennedy — The Borendo Pass — Simla — The City of the Mountains — Singular Custom — The British in India — Scandal — English Clergymen — Indian Hospitality — The Chur Mountain — Its immense Forests — Its Summit — Glorious View — The Himalaya — Singular Marriage Custom — Ladies at Grass — British Artillery — Ruins of the Mogul Empire — Chita-hunting — Astonishing Speed of the Chita — Indian Lynx — A Native Beauty — Splendid Marriage Ceremony — Singular Custom — Romantic Adventure — Lodiana — Robbery — Singular Means of Detection 1

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Lodiana—Arrival at Rupur—Elephant-riding — Field of the Cloth of Gold — The Rajah of Rupur — The Sutlej — The Pinjor Valley — Hindu Temple — The Sacred Peacock — The City of Peace — The Sacred Peak of Nina Devi — The Sikhs — A Levée al Fresco — Eastern Etiquette — Beautiful and Singular Well — Botany of the Jungle — Lake of Khundalu — Jungle Fowl — Summer Residence of Capt. Wade — Native Fortress — Anticipation — Classical Reminiscences — Arrival at Bilaspur — Visit to the Rajah — His Palace and Retinue — Rebellion and its Fruits — How to treat an uncivil Rajah — Singular Mode of Crossing the Sutlej — Mode of Travelling — Attendants and Retinue — Native Servants — Necessary Precautions — The Advantages of being Cheated — Diet and Clothing — Advice to Travellers in the East — Gymnastics — Sleeping in the East — How to avoid Quarrelling 49

CHAPTER III.

Bilaspur to Nadaun—Beautiful Country—Distant View of the Himalaya — Mundi — Singular Mode of Crossing Rivers — Mountain Streams — Floating Island — A Young Rajah — The Rajputs — The Rajah's Palace — An Eastern Garden — The Bazaar — Hindu Temples — Dinner with a Rajah —

PAGE

A Hindu Raphael—Widow Burning—The Funeral Pile—Remonstrance—Reply of the Rajah—Origin of the Ceremony—Runjit Singh's Widow—True Meaning of the Word Sati—Hindu Code of Religion—Declaration of a Sati—Scripture *versus* Tradition—Antiquity of Hinduism—A Mahometan Roasted Alive—Fanaticism—Narcotics—Their Use by the Victims—Mariticide—Policy of Non-interference—Origin of British Power in India—Hinduism in Danger—Second Marriage of a Hindu Widow 75

CHAPTER IV.

Mundi to Ladák—Mr. Moorcroft and Dr. Gerard—Hindu Tradition—Iron Mines of Mundi—Salt Mines of Barung—The Hill of Alexander—Its Locality discussed—Route of Alexander in India—The Boundaries of the World—Tira—The Himalaya—Singular Position of Tira—Hockey on Horseback—An Ex-Rajah—Runjit Singh—A Hindu Breakfast—Singular Customs—Mr. Moorcroft's Travels—The Fool's Fortress—Extraordinary Defiles—Stronghold—The March of Alexander in India—The Aornos—The Kophenes—The Rivers crossed by Alexander—City rebuilt by Alexander—Arrian's Account—Rock of Iskardo—Embolima—Elephants—The Indus—Little Tibet—Nyssa—Discrepancies in the Ancient Historians—The Vuziri—Col. Foulkes—The Fort of the Stars—Nadaun—Sacred Spot—Singular Hindu Temple—Religious Sacrifice—Núrpúr—The Nawabs of Kangra—Lord Lake and Holkar—Runjit Singh and the Rajahs—Nose-making—The Soap-tree—Ancient Castle—Núrpúr, the Place of Light—An Ex-Rajah—Treachery of Runjit Singh—The various Passes in Kashmir—Periods of their being open—Chumba—The Shepherd's Mountain—A Marriage Procession—The Rajah of Chumba—*Incog.*—Form and Ceremony in the East—Mystification—Visit to the Rajah—Conversation by Proxy—Cherut Singh and his Brother—Sitting for your Portrait—Occupations of Rajah—A Clever Vizir—A Rajah in Exile—Religious Temples at Chumba—A Hindu Tradition—The Sixteen Brothers .. 97

CHAPTER V.

PAGE

Mountain Passes from Kashmir—Ladak—Chumba to Burmawur—The River Chunab—Mr. Moorcroft—Itinerary—The Wild Horse—The Rajah of Chumba—Ballad-Singers of Chumba—Native Melodies—The Shepherd's Song—The Sepahi's Song—National Air of Chumba—Singular Ferry—Bisuli—A Dead Rajah—Road to Kashmir—Ancient Path made by the Mogul Emperors—Mountain Scenery—Ancient Fortresses—Traveller's Greeting—Wild Beasts—A Stoppage—Gulab Singh—A Roguish Gardener—Ancient Castle—A Holy Lake—Successors of Runjit Singh—Treachery of Gulab Singh and Runjit Singh—The Price of Poisoning a Rajah—Jamu—Its Palace—Its Population—Interview with Gulab Singh—Cross-questioning—Toleration—Religious Toleration 161

CHAPTER VI.

Departure for Kashmir—Mountain Passes—Castle of Rumnajur—Rajah's Palace—Singular Turn-out—The Rajah—Loss of a Favourite—Splendid View—Majestic Mountain—A Learned Pundit—The Astrologer at Fault—Chinini—Gulab Singh—An Ex-Rajah—Plains of the Panjab—English Scenery—The Pir Panjal Mountains—Sporting in the Jungles—Hawking—Budrawar—Rival Rajahs—Runjit Singh—Trade in Corn—A Witch—Chumba—Cretinism in the Panjab: its Cure—Alpine Bridge—Fearful Passage—Dodah—Woodcock—The Leopard's Leap—A Lever Bridge—"Immortal Smash"—Sacred Image—Mountain Villages—Kishtawar—Mountain Torrents—Changes of Rulers—Rapacity of the Sikhs—Noble Tree—Sacred Shrine and Idol—Natural History—The Chunab—Snakes—Bite of the Cobra—Mountain-Passes—A Narrow Escape—Mountain Village—Singular Story—Hot Spring—Noble Tree—Pass into Kashmir .. 187

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

Pass into Kashmir—Plants of the Jungle—The Trekotar Devi Mountain — Castle of Rihursi — Timber Rafts on the Chunab — Summit of the Pass — English Terrier — Road made by Gulab Singh—His Designs on Kashmir—Frightened Beauties—Wild Animals of the Jungle—The Springs of Deng — Fine View — Castle of Hurawug — Departure from Jamu for Jarawur — Sport — Black Partridges — Ruined Palace—Native Huts—Singular Scene—The Village Well — Varied Assemblage — A Living Skeleton — Rajah's Palace — Cobra de Capello — Elephant in a Torrent — Meeting with the Rajah — Visit to the Rajah's Palace — Cross-questioning — Indo-English — Rajah of Rajawur — Territory of Rajawur — Native Pointer — Hot Spring — Unorthodox Cure for Cholera — Plains of the Panjab — Villages of the Panjab — Fort in the Panjab — Huri Singh: a Visit to him — Baron Hugel — The Use of the Sword — Astonishing Cuts with an Oriental Sword — Vuzirabad—The Pir Panjal — Bhimbur — Castle of Amur Gurh—Ex-Rajah of Bhimbur—Jungle Vegetation—Horrible Cruelty of Gulab Singh..... 213

CHAPTER VIII.

Castle of Amur Gurh — Hera Singh — Danger of too much Curiosity — Spies in the East — Hindu Building — Cultivated Plain — Kotli — Beautiful View — Púnch — A Rencontre—The Serai—Fine Waterfalls—Uri: its Sikh Castle — Change of Temperature — Road to Bhimbur — Serai of Shadabad — Immense Walls — Saracenic Architecture — Magnificent View — Ruined Hindu Temple — Plain of Nushera — Sacred Birds of the Jungle — Vegetation — Jungle Fowl — Monkeys—Thána — Large Serai — Chunar Tree—Geology of the District—Mountain Lakes—Policy of Runjit Singh: his Intrigues — Victory over the Sikhs—

PAGE

Human Remains—Lammergeyers—Impetuous Torrent—Baramgulu—Waterfall—Avalanche—A Sacrifice—Singular Tower—A Holy Man—Mountain Vegetation—Geology of the Panjal—Tower of Lal Gholám—Descent of the Mountain—Town of Shupeyon—Curious Building—The Maleks—Farm-Houses—Names of the Thirty-six Divisions of Kashmir 243

CHAPTER IX.

Major Rennell—Geology of the Valley of Kashmir—The three Lakes—Flood-gates—Sikh Forts—Granite Rocks—The Jylum—Limestone Region—Singular Burning Ground—The Great Earthquake of 1828—Character of the Valley of Kashmir—Cataract on the Jylum—City Lake—Extraordinary Changes in the Valley—Origin of the Karywas or Elevated Plains—The Hill of Shupeyon—Snowy Mountains—Climate of the Valley—The Baramula Pass—Parasites of the Governor—Curious Mode of Angling—Himalaya Trout—Kosah Nag—Kashmirian Kulis—Mountain Streams—Extraordinary Mountain Lake—Its Origin—Bernier's Account of the Lake—Native Traditions and Legends—Descent from the Lake—The River of Vishnu—Hindu Shrine—Tomb of Hyder Malek—Singular Eminences—Beautiful View—Shepherds of Kashmir—Cowherds—Flocks and Herds of the Valley—Herds of Horses—Abu Fuzl—Banditti—Their Suppression by Sher Singh—Daring Outrages—The Royal Race of Kashmir—Jehan Gir—Royal Watchmen—The best Road out of Kashmir—Beautiful Strath—Mountain Villages—Kol Narawa Pass—Imperial City—A Kashmirian Old Parr—Reverence for Age—A Heronry—Heron Plumes—Mode of obtaining the Feathers—Village of Deosir—Cultivation of Rice and Cotton in Kashmir 273

CHAPTER X.

PAGE

Fine View of the Valley—Ruined Villages—Kashmirian Villagers—The Kangri—Pundits—Policy of Runjit Singh—His Ravages in the Valley—The Singh Costume—Bees—Singular Mode of their Management—Chaugám—The Valley of Khund—Enormous Serpent—Singular Spring—The Vine—Muskhabad—Use of Wine in Kashmir—Picturesque Valley—Poison Tree—Splendid View of the Valley—One-eyed Fish—Shahbad—Apple Orchards—Copper and Iron Mines—A Kashmirian Falstaff—Singular Character—Comforts of Tea in the East—Bread and Grapes—Genii of Kashmir—Singular Effect of a Dose of Calomel—Celebrated Fountain—Ruined Palace—Himalaya Front—Persian Inscription—Fuller's Earth—Singular Cave—Source of the Jylum—Banihal Pass—The Shahbad Valley—Singular Rocks—Traditional Bridge—The Cyclops of the East—Geology of the Valley of Shahbad—Lead and Iron Mines—Copper and Silver—Jehan Gir—Working the Mines—Hindu Buildings—Ebbing and Flowing Spring—Holy Waters—The Bethesda of the Valley—Subterranean Channels—Turnksum—Its Bridge—Scene of many Battles—Shah Sujah—His Invasion of the Valley—Fright and Retreat of Azim Khan 313

CHAPTER XI.

Magnificent Spring—Probably a Subterranean River—Its Intense Cold—Fête to Sir Henry Fane—Colony of Dancing Girls—Native Melodies—The Extremity of Kashmir—Worshipping Place—Village of Nabog—Ascent of the Panjal—Noble View—Valley of Muru-Wurdwun—Snow-fall—Usual Time of its Occurrence in Kashmir—Singular Custom—April Fools—Islamabad—Confluence of the Jylum and the Kotihár River—Holy Spring—Majestic Ruins of Martund, the City of the Sun—Cyclops of the East—Holy Well—Hindu Antiquities—History of Kashmir—Wilson and Prinsep—Contemporaries of Alex-

PAGE

ander—Solar and Lunar Races—Institutes of Menu—Inscriptions on the Buddhu Stone—Origin of Buddhism—Researches of Prinsep—Kashmirian Language—The Jyns, a peculiar Sect of the Hindus—Dialects of Kashmir—Language of the Parsees 345

CHAPTER XII.

Professor Wilson's Essay upon the Ancient History of Kashmir—Hindu History—Rajah Taringini—Traditions and Sects—Kashmir once a great Lake—Drained by Solomon—Singular Saying—Worship of the Sun in Kashmir—The Pandus—King Lulu—Snake-Worshippers—Ancient Coins in Kashmir—Alpine Country—Ancient Cities—The Durds, the Dadicæ of Herodotus—Husárá—Ancient and Modern Names of Places in Kashmir—Martund, Temple of the Sun—Its Present Condition—Singular Architecture—Trefoil Arches—Worship of Vishnu and Siva—Enormous Stones—Isolated Pillar—Various Styles employed in the Temple of Martund—Dates of the Ruins in Kashmir—Opinions of Professor Whewell on the Ruins in Kashmir—Resemblance to the Ark—Descendants of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba—Mr. Wolff—The Afghans Descendants of Jacob—Solomon's Throne—Professor Willis on the Ruins in Kashmir—Noble Site of Martund—Chief Ruins in Kashmir 373

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England—Singular Anecdote—Constantinople—Mr. Cartwright, the Consul-General—Trebizond—Sporting—Kurdistan—A Kurdish Village—Erzeroum—Its Turkish Governor—Entrance into Persia—Mount Ararat—Tabriz—Dr. Cormick—Travelling in Persia—Tehran—Grand Dinner—Abbas Mirza—Wild Sheep—Trout-fishing—Kushan Scorpions—An Awkward Mistake—Ispahan—A Robber-chief—Ruins of Persepolis—Shiraz—Tombs of Sadi and Hafiz—Wine of Shiraz—Wild Hogs—Bushir—Hawking—English Detachment—Coursing the Wild Antelope—Voyage to Bombay—The Gueber's Mountain—First Impressions—Busy Scene—The Parsis—Trip to the Himalaya—Elephanta—Captain Outram—A Natural Preserve—A Lady Sportsman—Leopard-hunting—Tiger-hunting—Plains of Assaye—Singular Caves—Bhúranpúr—Magnificent Fortress—Jypur—Delhi—Valley of Pinjor—Dr. Gerard—Captain Kennedy—The Borendo Pass—Simla—The City of the Mountains—Singular Custom—The British in India—Scandal—English Clergymen—Indian Hospitality—The Chur Mountain—Its immense Forests—Its Summit—Glorious View—The Himalaya—Singular Marriage Custom—Ladies at Grass—British Artillery—Ruins of the Mogul Empire—Chita-hunting—Astonishing Speed of the Chita—Indian Lynx—A Native Beauty—Splendid Marriage Ceremony—Singular Custom—Romantic Adventure—Lodiana—Robbery—Singular Means of Detection.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR,

LITTLE TIBET,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

I HAVE no intention of writing a detailed account either of the "ways" or the "means" by which I reached the north-western frontier of India, whither, when I quitted England, I had not the smallest idea of proceeding. I had calculated upon a voyage of twelve or fourteen months, more or less, but did not return until after an absence of seven years. To a large proportion of my readers, however, the narrative of the first part of my journey would have proved but a useless description of well-trodden ground.

I left Southampton on the 16th October, 1832, passed through France from Normandy to Marseilles, and experienced a first seasoning to more than European heat in the quarantine ground at Malta.

The captain of the little schooner in which we

sailed, had been boarded by Greek pirates; and he solemnly assured me that his wife, who was with him at the time, and saw him beaten by them, was confined shortly afterwards, and gave birth to a child bearing on its body marks similar to, and similarly placed with, those caused upon his own by the blows the pirates had given to him. After this, I could not much blame him for looking with a very suspicious eye at every vessel that approached us, particularly as his wife was now on board with us; nor for having on board two large carronades, with a crew of three men and the mate to work them; nor for his giving an order in the Black Sea, that a shot should be fired across the bows of a boat containing some cabbages, a man, and two boys, who seeing us becalmed, had come several miles to sell us vegetables; nor for calling me out of my berth three times in one night upon false alarms; one of which I well remember was caused by a fine English brig-of-war that we chanced to fall in with, on a fine moonlight night in the Grecian seas.

I viewed the lions of Constantinople in the daytime, and in the evening we had some difficulty in withdrawing our legs from under the well-known, choice, and rounded mahogany of Mr. Cartwright, the very Prince of Consuls-General.

I crossed to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, (firing, by the way, at *les âmes damnées*, which, spite of their name, I have more than once seen at rest on the water), to shoot woodcocks behind the Giant's Grave, and returned to eat them under the hospitable roof of my friend Mr. Hanson at Therapia. When shooting, I refreshed myself occasionally with the fruit of the wild medlar.

We were drifting about for three-and-twenty days in the Black Sea in search of Trebizond, because the Captain had no chronometer on board; and, after obtaining a near view of the southernmost mountains and valleys of the Kaucasus, and then repassing Trebizond, and looking at it without knowing it, we found ourselves becalmed about six miles from the shore, near the town of Phasis, the birth-place of Lucullus and the pheasant.

We proceeded thither in an open boat, for the purpose of inquiring where we were. The Governor received us with great civility and told us that we were thirty or forty miles from our destination, which we reached with hired rowers in eighteen hours, and were not a little gratified at finding ourselves safely housed as the guests of Mr. Brant, the English Consul.

Our vessel arrived on the morrow, and we found that we had been expected for some days, and that we had passed and repassed the port without knowing it, not only in full view of the Europeans who expected us, but being actually recognised by those who were on the look-out; and more particularly by a French gentleman, who had offered to lay a wager that it was a "mâture Anglaise" which they were gazing at.

Trebizond is situated in the more open country, at the extremity of a broad and beautiful bay; but the mountains rise on either side of it, and those on the northward, it being winter time, were thickly covered with snow.

Trebizond is said to have been founded in the year 707 B. C. It was originally a colony from Sinope, the

capital of Pontus, and the powerful opponent of Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey.

The sea in front of it was the first viewed by the vanguard of the retreating soldiers of Xenophon; and the badly scented honey, which caused an epidemic among the Greeks, is now forbidden to be sold in the bazaar of the modern Trapesis.

"Trebizond derived its wealth and splendour," says Gibbon, "from the munificence of the Emperor Adrian, who had constructed an artificial port on a coast left destitute by nature of secure harbours. It was taken and pillaged in the first expedition of the Goths from the Ukraine, in the reign of Valerian, A. D. 253–268. Its Dukes became independent of the Greek Emperors in 1204, and it was taken by the Turks under Mahomet II., in 1461, from David the last of the Comneni."

It now contains, I should think, about 80,000 inhabitants. When viewed from the sea, its front is city-like and imposing. Its old castle towers on the north bank, and the southern end is occupied by the extended walls and ramparts of the fort itself. From the hill behind it, its situation and red-tiled roofs reminded me of Hastings. Its streets are narrow, dark, and filthy, and infested with dogs; but it is, nevertheless, a place of rapidly increasing commercial prosperity, it being the principal entrance through which British manufactures find their way into the bazaars of Persia from the westward; and in case of war, it would be, I imagine, a possession of great political value in the hands of Russia. The Church of St. Sophia, built, it is said, by Justinian, is an excellent specimen of By-

zantine architecture, and would serve as a model for an English villa; and the guardhouses and watch-towers of the old Genoese, alike elegant in design and romantically situated, on the summits of the lofty precipitous banks through which lies the highway to Erzeroum and Tabriz, remain as lasting monuments of the determination and solid enterprise of the chartered merchants of Pera.

To a sportsman the neighbourhood offers considerable attraction. The bustard, which is well known in the plains of India, which I have seen on the islands in the Tagus and in the plains of Andalusia, and is still more numerous in those of Hungary, is sometimes met with near the Bosphorus, and is commonly shot near Trebizond. The quail and little bustard make their appearance in great quantities in the autumn; and wild ducks, snipes, and woodcocks, are very abundant. Of the latter I have known eighteen couple killed by one person in a day.

I cannot pass without notice the very agreeable *soirées* at the residence of M. Outrè, in whose drawing-rooms we frequently met the other European consuls and *employés;* amongst whom, Albanians, Turks, and Greeks, with their ladies, the *élites* of the fashion of the place, were moving in their native costumes, and apparently much delighted with the attentions they received from their amiable hostess and her fair daughters.

I must always consider myself as very fortunate in the kind and friendly attentions I received from my travelling companion, Mr. Burgess, who, being in the Persian service, was well acquainted with the road we were about to travel. The cargo of our schooner,

which was his property, was destined for the bazaars of Tabriz; and, after the requisite preparations were made for its transit, we bade adieu to our warm-hearted friends at Trebizond, and set out with a large caravan of laden mules for Erzeroum.

Nothing could be much more dreary and comfortless than the aspect of Kurdistan in the winter season. The level ground was every where covered with snow; but the mid-day sun was hot and the glare oppressive. But we were compensated for riding all day at a foot's pace, by the knowledge that our road was a safe one; and we gleaned amusement by shooting wild ducks, which were plentiful where the stream was unfrozen, and red-legged partridges, which were in great abundance where the rock was bare. The Kúrds, during the summer months, rove over the face of the country, in search of fresh pastures and "an untasted spring." They are here to-day and gone to-morrow; and the plundered traveller has no chance of redress: but in the winter they make a virtue of necessity, remain quietly in their villages, and administer to his wants.

The neighbourhood of a Kúrdish village is often treeless: it is first seen in the distance as a dark streak upon the white unbounded and undulating waste; and, upon approaching it, it is found to be merely an assemblage of most miserable huts by a stream side, with low doors, no windows, and flat roofs, and every thing blackened with the smoke of burnt cow-dung. In the best house in the village there is usually a raised platform, in one corner of the stable, parted off from the residence of its four-footed inmates, —horses, cows, goats, and sheep; so that whatever might be the temperature of the external air, we were

always warm enough within. Our only fear was of vermin, and on this account I have reason to congratulate myself upon having taken the precaution of ordering the different articles of my bedding to be made up in the shape of a sack. On the plain of Erzeroum, the thermometer, on a morning in the middle of February, fell to 15° below zero; but I was clothed *à la Tatare*, with five pairs of stockings and large travelling boots drawn over them, so that I felt perfectly warm; although the cold air, in concert with a warm sun at mid-day, took the skin twice off our faces, in the space of the month or five weeks that we occupied, including a halt of a few days at Erzeroum, in marching from Trebizond to Tabriz.

My friend's Persian servant was frequently called upon for a kaleún, which he also handed to me; and, as I was not in the habit of smoking one, I did not at first use it quite to his satisfaction; he seemed to lament my ignorance as a real misfortune, and remarked with quite a serious face, "Inshallah! some day the Sahib will do better."

We visited the Pacha or Turkish Governor of Erzeroum, at which place, thanks to Mr. Zohrab, the resident English Consul, we found ourselves in very comfortable quarters beneath his roof. On our way eastward we slept at the little Armenian convent of Uch Klisa. Before retiring to rest, I had coursed, but uselessly, a very fine fox, and had killed several wild fowl in the head waters of the Phrat (Euphrates).

We passed the rocky fortress of Byazed (Bajazet), and shortly afterwards crossed the frontier of Persia. The plains of Armenia were extended on our left, and

seemed to be half overshadowed by the masses of cloud that rested upon Ararat as a nucleus, and concealed all but the base of the mountain from our view.

At Khoi, the ground was clear of snow; and I first noticed the Bovra Korra (black breast), or large partridge of the desert, that rose around me in great numbers, and was constantly attracting my attention by the gurgling chatter which they make whilst on the wing.

We skirted the northern end of the salt lake of Urúmiyeh. Its shores seemed to be but one vast morass, and its islands resembled so many rocky mountain-tops. "It extends," says Major Rawlinson,* "above a degree of latitude in length, and about a third of that distance in extreme breadth. The greatest depth of water that is found in any part is four fathoms; the average depth is four feet; but its shores shelve so gradually that this depth is rarely attained within two miles of land. The specific gravity of the water, from the quantity of salt retained in solution, is great; so much so, indeed, that the Prince's vessel, of 100 tons burden, when loaded, is not expected to have more draught than three or four feet at the utmost. The heaviness of the water also prevents the lake from being affected by storms; so that a gale of much wind can raise its waves but a few feet; and as soon as the storm has passed, they subside again into their deep, heavy, and deathlike sleep. It is the old opinion that the waters of the lake are too salt to support animal life. Geo-

* *Vide* Major Rawlinson's "Journey from Tabriz to the Tukt-i-Sulcïman," &c.; "Journal of R. Geogr. Soc." vol. x. 1840.

graphers of ancient and modern days all combine in the assertion; and though fish certainly, and the larger aquatic species, are not to be found in it, yet the Prince assured me that, in his voyages, he had repeatedly met with the smaller class of zoophytes, and those too in considerable numbers." Major R. proceeds to adduce proofs of the existence of an old causeway across the lake.

Tabriz, the capital of Azerbijan, has been often described. It presents a large monotonous assemblage of flat-roofed, mud-built, and mud-coloured houses, disposed in streets, intersected by numerous streams, and interspersed with, and surrounded by, numerous and extensive gardens. It is situated in an open and barren country, with low ranges of mountains running across it in different directions.

The death of Dr. Cormick must have caused a deplorable vacancy in the small circle of European society in Persia; and the loss of himself, as well as of his hospitality, must have been much felt by succeeding travellers. After a long residence at Tabriz, as the physician of the Prince Royal, Abbas Mirza, he died, very much regretted, of fever, at Nishapur, (where the rock containing the firoza, or turquoise, is alone found), whilst on his way to join his royal patron, then with his army in Khorasan.

I rode *chupper* (chupao*), as it is termed, from Tabriz to Tehran, the distance being about the same as the length of England. An order for horses was procured for me, as is usual, addressed to the chiefs of the different villages on the way; upon shewing

* Chupao, a foray or charge of cavalry.

which they are bound to provide them: and those who have travelled in this way, as I did, with my own spurs, my Wilson saddle, and other men's horses, will, I am sure, agree with me in thinking that it is not so bad a way of moving across a country, where there is little that is interesting to detain them.

I passed a night, and suffered for it, at Miani, celebrated for the size and number of its dark red-coloured vermin; and left the ruins of the Castle of Alamoot (the Eagle's Nest) toward the celebrated fortress and head-quarters of the Assassins and their famous chief, the old Man of the Mountains, about thirty miles to the north of me as I entered Kasvin.*

I arrived at the British palace at Tehran just in time to change my dress, and sit down to a grand dinner, given by Sir John Campbell to the Russian Ambassador, Count Simonitch, and his numerous suite, consisting of ten or twelve *attachés*, out of which number I believe I am not wrong in saying that there were not above three who were Russians by birth. I had the honour of dining with his Excellency afterwards; we passed a most agreeable evening; and I shall not easily forget the goodness of his wines or the finish with a favourite liqueur prepared from the berry of the mountain-ash.

The front of the British palace at Tehran is ornamented with a handsome white Doric portico, beneath which is a flight of steps, between two projecting octagons that form the corners of the building. The garden in front of it is thickly planted with rose-bushes. The perfume of the yellow rose was quite

* *Vide* Taylor's "History of Mohamedanism," p. 233.

oppressive; and the whole place seemed to be alive with nightingales.

The atmosphere of Tehran is very hot and unhealthy during the summer months; and deaths from eating unripe fruit are very common; but we waited there for the arrival of the Prince Royal, from a successful campaign in Khorasan. The officers of the British embassy, accompanied by myself and Capt. Paxton, of the 4th Dragoons, who was going to England overland from Bombay, rode out to meet him. The Prince distinguished us in the crowd at some distance, and immediately sent off a man at full gallop, to present us with some sugar-candy, as a momentary mark of his especial regard; and I had the honour of being introduced to him as we rode alongside his palanquin.

Sir John Campbell soon afterwards moved to his camp, near the beautiful gardens of Avin, under the Elborz mountains, accompanied by Lady Campbell, his first assistant, Mr. (now Sir John) M'Neill, G.C.B., Mrs. M'Neill, and Captains Shee and M'Donald, in command of the escort, and by myself, whom he had kindly invited to remain with him as his guest during the hot weather, which I whiled away most agreeably. Capt. Shee, in whose society I have passed many a pleasant hour, is since dead at Madras, where he had rejoined his regiment from Persia. I shall never forget the walk we had together upon the Elborz, in search of wild sheep. We found none, but we at last came to a place which they had but lately quitted. We were probably never so tired in our lives as when we again descended to the camp; whilst our guide, a very

short, but very powerfully built, old man, had moved over the rocky mountain sides, with the aspect of a *genius loci*, and a strength and rapidity of stride, that made us both ashamed of ourselves. There are few people more capable of supporting fatigue under privation than the Persians.

Mr. M'Neill and myself went on a trout-fishing excursion to Lar, a very wild, rocky, and Ultima-Thule-like looking valley, down which dashed our stream, and at the head of which arose the conical peak of Demawnud, the highest mountain in Persia, about 14,500 feet above the level of the sea. We had some excellent sport at Lar, killing six or seven dozen of trout a-piece on each day, not large certainly, but in good condition for mountain fish. The best trout-fishing in Persia, however, is, I am informed, near Tabriz.

Near Avin, is the largest chenar, or *platanus orientalis* tree I ever saw, measuring about sixty-four feet in circumference, and having a copious stream flowing from beneath its roots.

I made an excursion for a few days towards the banks of the Caspian (which, by the bye, owing to the carelessness of my guides, who, on a particular day, took the wrong road, I did not see); and, after having so long been accustomed to the flat and barren desert around the capital, I wandered with delight amongst the forest-clad mountains and hoary precipices of Mazenderan, where are to be found alike the production of the cold seas of the north, of the woods of more temperate climates, and those of the countries of the torrid zone. I have eaten the salmon of the Caspian which descend the Wolga, in Tehran, and have whipped

the streams that flow into it to no purpose, it being too late in the season.

The common pheasant is plentiful in different places, and peculiar kinds of rice, and the (Hyrcanian) tiger, and the little hump-bearing cattle of India, (which latter, in particular, are not found in the intervening countries) are, singularly enough, well known to the inhabitants of these very beautiful and Arcadian regions.

I left Tehran for the south, in company with the Shah's mehmandar (an officer appointed to take care of a guest), who had been sent to Bushir in order to attend upon the detachment of British officers that were expected from India, under the command of Colonel Pasmore.

Soon after arriving at Koshan (famous for the size and number of its scorpions), I strolled through the bazaar, in my shooting-jacket, unarmed, and attended only by a single servant. I was taken for a Russian—the word passed from mouth to mouth—a number of idlers gathered round me, and commenced hooting and abusing me. The crowd thickened, my servant struck one of the most forward, and the blow was instantly returned by a fanatic mullah, against whom he dare not lift his hand. I thought it best to beat a retreat, and accordingly, I made a virtue of necessity. I ordered my servant to be quiet, and follow me, and then walked away, trying to look careless and dignified, with the crowd at my heels, and was lucky enough to reach the end of the bazaar without further disturbance, and the crowd scarcely followed me beyond it.

I reached Ispahan in about nine days, and soon found myself laid up with a fever, which I had caught

in a long and useless gallop after some wild asses that had crossed our path in the desert, but a day or two previously. In about a month I was enabled to call upon the venerable Armenian archbishop, at Julfa, a suburb of Ispahan, where I had been quartered near the convent, and thanked him for his kindness in putting up prayers for me, sending me some delicious fruit, and a monk, who acted as my physician.

Julfa has been the grave of many an European, whose tombstones are to be seen in the convent yard. Thence I started with a caravan that was going to Shiraz, where we arrived after nine or ten long dreary night-marches, over a country that has been well described as "divided into deserts that are salt and deserts that are not salt." I rode a very fast walking horse, and was yet so weak from the effects of illness, that I was glad to push him on a few hundred yards in advance of the caravan, dismount, fall asleep for about five minutes, and be awakened by my servants to be up and off again after its rear had passed.

At one place—I forget its name—the Bactiari (Bactrians), as the nomade plunderers of these countries are called, made their appearance after we had arrived at our station, to demand blackmail of us. They were sitting on the ground in a circle, as we arrived, and a more savage set of ragamuffins I never beheld. They entered the camp armed only with sticks, and commenced examining the merchandise, following up a refusal by an unreturned blow. The chief, a man of about thirty-five, took up a position not far from our quarters, and I had thus an opportunity of observing him, and a greater coxcomb in his manners I never saw. His slim figure was clad in the common Persian cap, with

a purple-coloured silk frock; and between the fore-finger and thumb of his left hand, he held a very dandy French purse, made apparently of glass beads, into which, with an air of the greatest nonchalance, he dropped the pieces of money that were brought in to him, as the holder of the common stock. The Bactiari then withdrew on one side, for the purpose of dividing their booty. Long and loudly did they vociferate during the partition; and as some of them were not satisfied, the chief quietly walked into the camp, attended by a single follower, with sticks in their hands, and here and there singled out some one whose property was large enough to justify them in making a further demand. I never saw such a blow given with a stick, as that inflicted upon the bare head of a Persian who attempted to resist a further inspection of his baggage. I thought myself lucky in getting off for about a pound, and I arrived at Shiraz without further molestation, after having turned a little out of my way for the purpose of visiting the aristocratic ruins of Persepolis, where, I regret to say, instead of exploring, I was obliged to lie down and sleep.

At Shiraz I received much attention from Mr. Littlejohn, who, having quitted His Majesty's service in India, was then in command of the troops of the Prince of Shiraz, which he had brought into a very respectable state of discipline. He introduced me to the Prince, who, finding I was still weak from fever, volunteered to send me some bark, and next morning, a phial arrived, having been very nearly emptied of its contents on the way.

Shiraz appeared to me to be one of the neatest and most bustling towns in Persia, and its bazaar is the

finest in the country, on account of its extent, and the loftiness of its arched roof. The Orientals often construct an arch by the measurement of the eye merely, and rarely with a correct frame; and though the work is often beautiful to look at, yet in consequence of its imperfection, the arch, which in all ruins, originally well built, is the last to remain, is, with them, usually, the first to fall.

Shiraz stands in a beautiful irrigated Vega, between the barren ridges in its vicinity. I believe the waters of Bendamir's stream (Bund Amir, the Amir's Dam), contribute their quota to its verdure. A few villages are scattered in different directions, and some lonely towers standing here and there, like castles on a chess-board, contain the remains of some unfortunate wretch who has been bricked up alive. An uncle of the late Futi Ali Shah* (the very best man in his dominions), who was opposed to his nephew at the time of his accession, was bricked up alive, after he had surrendered upon a promise that his blood should not be shed. When the British palace at Tehran was building, it became necessary to open the room, and the skeleton was found on all fours, as if in the act of tearing up the earth with its finger nails.

I visited the tomb of Sadi, which stands by itself in a recess, and that of Hafiz, which is not distinguishable from a multitude of others around it. Both, if I recollect rightly, were of stone, raised above the surface, and rectangular in their construction, that of Hafiz being the most ornamented with reliefs. A white-bearded and good-looking old man, who had received inform-

* The king, victorious in the name of Ali the prophet.

ation from my servant beforehand, came out with a volume of Hafiz's poems, and with a smirk on his countenance proceeded to open it on the tomb, and extract from it my "Sortes Hafizianæ," and after reading a little, proceeded to inform me that I was travelling for my pleasure,—that I came from Europe *viâ* Tabriz, Tehran, &c.,—that I was going down to Bushir, and thence to India, &c.

The wine of Shiraz is made, I believe, about fifty miles west of the city. The best that I tasted was a fine, powerful, and dry wine, not quite so dark as brown sherry.

I quitted Shiraz under the protection of a retinue who were escorting a young son of the Prince of Shiraz, to a place of which he had just been appointed the governor. Part of his road lay in the direction of Bushir, and Mr. Littlejohn had introduced me to his minister, who was travelling with him; by this means, I was protected through a country, where every one was almost certain of being attacked and plundered by a celebrated freebooter, Wuli Khan. The only occurrence which bore the smallest resemblance to a skirmish, was the crossing of our path by a large herd of wild hogs. The Prince gave the order to charge, sabres were drawn, lances brought to the rest, and the horses goaded to their speed; and had a real enemy appeared, there could not have been a greater uproar. But a scanty jungle of forest trees, and the rocky nature of the ground, combined to check the ardour of the cavaliers, who were obliged to return without a single victim.

For the last three or four days I travelled without escort, and so entered Bushir, where I arrived

in a state of great debility. Before I reached the town, I fell in with the Prince, and the officers of the British Residency, on their return from hunting. Thanks to the hospitality of Mr. Blane, and the medical skill of Mr. M'Kenzie, I was soon sufficiently recovered to accompany them in their sports.

A plain, or belt of land, of three or four days' journey in width, occupies the space between Bushir and the chain of mountains that intervenes between it and Shiraz. On the northern part of it there is a great deal of cultivation; but the promontory at the extremity of which the town is situated in many places is a desert, and in others is covered with a low jungle, affording shelter to different varieties of game. We rode many a long and useless chase after the antelope. We killed the ahubura, or Persian bustard, by ordering the falconer to raise his hand as high as possible on approaching any likely ground, and by this means the bustard, usually extremely shy, was terrified, and did not rise from the ground until we were within shot of it. This bird is most delicious eating.

The keenness of sight displayed by the hawk was perfectly astonishing; I have seen him evince an eagerness for flight when we could distinguish nothing in any direction, and glide at once from the hand of the falconer for 150 yards, to attack the ahubura on the ground, where they had concealed themselves amongst low bushes and patches of long grass, affording a shelter so thick as to have defied detection from a human eye within a quarter of that distance. The hawk thus flown was, I believe, the byri, or peregrine falcon. The ahubura consults his own safety by fighting with the hawk on the ground; and yet if he

rises the falcon will not pursue him; but a goshawk is kept in readiness to strike him the moment he takes wing.

Whilst I was at Bushir I had the pleasure of meeting the detachment of officers under Colonel Pasmore, who had just arrived from India; consisting of Captains Laughton, Shiel, and Farrant, Dr. Griffiths, and Lieutenant Powell, with whom were Capt. Todd, the late envoy at Herat, Captain Stoddart, who was lately detained and insulted at Bokhara, and Col. Rawlinson, whose qualifications as a fine rider were, I was informed, such as would ensure him the attachment of the Persian cavalry under his command, but who, I need not remark, has since figured in the more distinguished capacity of a fine writer. His paper upon the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, lately published by the Royal Geographical Society, has been pronounced, by authority, to be the best that has ever been communicated to any geographical society, on any similar subject.

I gladly availed myself of the kindness of Lieutenant Hodges, then in command of Hon. E. I. C. schooner the Tigris, who offered me a passage to Bombay, whither he was about to return immediately. We touched at Basador, where I was driven about in a tandem by Captain Poole. I stopped to inspect a new garden which he had called into existence upon the sand, and was amused by the gardener reporting that one pea had made its appearance. I dined and passed an agreeable evening at the house of Commodore Elwon; shot some desert partridge (*Pterocles exustus*), and shot *at* some ahubura. I also witnessed a most beautiful course, of three and a half

miles in length, with a brace of greyhounds and an antelope, which at length ran fairly away from them.

The above-mentioned officers are since dead, and much regretted by the service; and to the memory of Capt. Poole a tablet has been inscribed at the expense of his shipmates.

We sailed over Oman's dark water, and passed the Guebers mountain with a leading breeze. We partook of an excellent Christmas plum-pudding on the 25th, and found ourselves at Bombay about the 1st of January, 1833.

A traveller upon arrival there finds himself at once, as it were, in the centre of India, and in all the newness of Indian life. Hackney palanquins are waiting for him on the shore; swarthy servants out of place press round him, with written characters in their hands; he is borne away to his hotel or his friend's house, and, ere he enters the gates of the town, he gets a glimpse of the ramparts and the esplanade, with its tents, bungalows, troops in review, camels, natives and Europeans; and behind all, he sees low, black, and rocky ridges, that intersect the Island of Bombay; and his eye is attracted by the dark waving foliage of the cocoa-nut and palm-trees, and the sepulchral towers that form the burial-places of the Parsis. If, instead of entering the town, he has to pass through the bazaar to his new home, he is amazed at the variety of costume: Arabs, Turks, Persians, Parsis, Afghans, Kashmirians, Lohanis, Sindis, Chinamen, and Lascars; and native Sepahis and British soldiers and sailors are mixed up with the countless throng of Hindustanis that impede the progress of his bearers.

The Parsis, however, are perhaps the most in-

teresting, as well as the most wealthy and industrious, of all the inhabitants of Bombay. At sunrise these followers of Zoroaster may be seen upon the beach, salaaming to their dazzling divinity; hailing as a god what the fevered European recognises and designates as "the Enemy," and repeating (from a small prayer-book called the Khordeh-avesta) their prayers in the Zend language, not one amongst a thousand of them paying any attention to the meaning. A full account of these religious ceremonies, &c. may be found in the second volume of the translation of the "Zend avesta," by Anquetil de Perron.

Whilst the divisions and subdivisions of the Hindu Pantheon are almost infinite in number and variety, the Gueber, his compatriot, discerns the united powers of the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, in the great source of light and warmth; and looks upon the most glorious object of material religion as the natural and most fitting emblem of the Omnipotent Deity.

As the climate and gaieties of Bombay did not tend much to the improvement of my health, I determined, not having had the slightest intention of the kind when I left England, to run up at once to the cool air of the Himalaya; and, accordingly, after having visited Elephanta, I started for Poona; passed through the cantonments of Ahmed Nagur and Aurungabad; visited the magnificent excavations of Ellora; and thence on through Kanhur to Dhurumgám, the residence of Captain Outram, the Roland of the Bombay army, and one of the best sportsmen in India. He then commanded the native corps, as governor of the Bhil district, and has since made himself

more generally known by his narrative of the late Campaign in Afghanistan. His house was situated in the midst of the wild jungles of Khandish, which formed for him a park of endless extent, and a preserve abounding with almost every kind of Indian game (elephants excepted), from a gyal, or wild bull, to the black partridge and the quail.

The large pillared hall in which we dined was hung round with horns, skulls, skins, and other trophies of the chase. Our party, consisting of eight or ten, sallied forth in the morning, on foot, horseback, or mounted upon elephants, according to the nature of the sport which we were going to pursue; and our evenings were enlivened by the presence of one of the most attractive women in the Bombay Presidency,—of whom, by the by, our host seemed determined to make a sportsman. Accordingly, a half-grown leopard, reported in the neighbourhood, being considered as a fitting quarry, we all sallied forth, and formed a crescent of elephants, around the bush in which our victim was couched. The lady's elephant, on which also were Capt. Outram and myself, was then advanced in front of the others. The leopard was aroused, and the lady fired again and again; the leopard charging mid-way between each shot, and then retreating; whilst the movements of the excited elephant shook the howdah with an uncontrollable violence, that made it necessary to hold on from time to time, and rendered the lady's aim so unsteady that she fired no less than eleven shots before the leopard was placed *hors de combat.* Capt. Outram rarely went out tiger-hunting without running some extraordinary risk. On one day I saw two tigers killed in about twenty

minutes; another, which we viewed up a hill, was supposed to have entered a small cave at the top of it. Capt. Outram and Lieut. Cam, a fine young officer, who were near the spot, ascended two small trees close by, intending to wait until a reinforcement should arrive. That on which the former was seated gave way; he fell, and lay, stunned and senseless, on the ground. His companion immediately descended from his retreat, and stood over him with his double barrel, until the arrival of assistance enabled him to move from his perilous situation. I observed shortly afterwards, with great regret, that Lieut. Cam had met his death near Satara, by a charge from a gyal, that had forced in his breast-bone.

The village of Ajunta, about twenty-five miles from the plains of Assaye, had been our head-quarters for a few days, and I employed a morning in visiting the caves, not many years known to Europeans, which are situated in the midst of the tiger country, and nearly at the extremity of one of the deep and wild ravines with which that part of the district abounds. Troops of monkeys were gamboling on the branches that overhung the precipice in which the caves are cut; and I saw a large bear, a nilghae,* and plenty of deer, in their vicinity. The excavations are on a much smaller scale than those of Ellora, and, as well as I remember, are of the same character; and of the ornamental paintings of wreaths and flowers, &c. although they are much effaced, a sufficiency yet remains to prove that they were beautiful alike in arrangement and execution.

* Blue cow.

Horses were laid for me to Bhúranpúr, whose former grandeur, as an Imperial residence, has long since departed. It is now chiefly known as containing the burial-place of the Bhárers, or itinerant drapers of India, who, for some reason or other, have still a wish to be buried here rather than elsewhere.

I thence galloped on to the magnificent hill fortress of Assirgurh, that rose on the horizon to the northward. The scenery on the way was, I thought, the wildest I had seen in the plains of India, and the view from the summit of the fortress itself presents one mass of jungle as far as the eye can reach. Hence I rode to the Nurbudda, which I forded towards sunset, under the guidance of a native, and found myself in the Presidency of Bengal. I passed in succession through the out-stations of Mhow, Neemuch, and Nasirabad, visiting Ajmer and Jypúr in my way, and riding on a camel for part of the distance.

Jypur I should imagine to be one of the finest specimens of a native city now existing in India. Its principal streets are laid out at right angles, and I believe by the assistance of an European architect; but the general aspect of the place is purely Indian, and such as it might have been in the days of the Mogul emperors. No British uniforms were then in the neighbourhood, although their presence has since been rendered necessary by the troubles connected with the murder of Mr. Blake. The power of the sun's rays was rendered more intense by reflection, from the whiteness of the houses, whose façades were often ornamented with great elegance, and whose balconies and windows were shaded and protected in a manner that reminded me of Italy or Spain. The streets

and bazaars were filled with innumerable red turbans. Elephants (and amongst them that on which I rode) were moving in different directions, bearing the proud thakur, or noble, reclining in a gilt howdah, beneath the shelter of an enormous umbrella of crimson silk; and the haughty sons of Rajputana, apparelled as becomes the brave, were guiding their fierce and half-broken chargers through the crowd, that divided as they approached, and twisting their moustaches with an air of the greatest indifference, amidst the vociferations of despised and dusty-footed pedestrians. A rocky and walled ridge commands the town, if my memory serve me, within cannon-shot, and from it flows, I believe, the stream by which the gardens of the palace were irrigated. I well remember their verdant beauty; the marble fountains and orange parterres were such as are depicted in the "Arabian Nights," and formed a strong contrast to the desert of sand swarming with jackals, which now runs up to its very walls, and threatens to overwhelm it at no very distant period.

After visiting the lions of Imperial Delhi, I pushed on through Kurnál and Paniput, in whose neighbourhood the destinies of India have been four times decided. Between Kurnal and Sirhind is the Kuru Kyt, or field on which was fought the battle between the victorious Pandus and the Kurus, B. C. 1367. Timur entered Delhi on the 12th December, A.D. 1398; Baber beat Ibrahim, 21st April, 1526; Nadir Shah gained the battle of Kurnal, 13th February, 1739; and Ahmed Shah Abdali defeated the Mahrattas there, on the 6th January, 1761.

None but those who have suffered long and se-

verely from the scorching heat of a tropical sun, can form any idea of the delight with which, after encountering a most violent tufán, I found myself at daybreak in the beautiful valley of Pinjor, and approaching the first ridges of the Himalaya, rising to an elevation of 3000 to 4000 feet above me. The rain had cooled the air; and invigorated by the mere anticipation of contact with snow, I already breathed and felt as though I had been in England.

At Subathú I was received by Dr. Gerard, the companion of Lieut. Burnes in his journey to Bokhara, and passed an agreeable evening in the society of himself and his two brothers, Capts. A. and P. Gerard. Thence I proceeded to the hospitable roof of my friend, Capt. C. P. Kennedy, the political agent at Simla, whom Mons. Jacquemont, in his letters, has immortalised as "the prince of artillery officers;" and certainly no other had a more extensive domain, enjoyed greater power, or kept a better table, than he did.

I soon afterwards made a rash attempt to reach the Borendo Pass; was stopped at Khotghur by the rains, which commenced as usual with great violence about the middle of June; and was thus forced to return, and remain quietly at Simla, where I daily felt my health improving under the united influences of the place, good air, good cheer, and the kind attentions which I received from my countrymen.

Simla, the court sanitarium of Bengal, is alike beautiful and singular in its aspect. The schistose mountain-tops upon which it is situated rise to an elevation of 6000 or 7000 feet above the sea, and from one called Jacko, from the monkeys which may often be seen upon it, and round which vultures and

lammergeyers are for ever circling, is obtained a most extensive view, stretching northward to the snowy range of the Himalaya, averaging 19,000 feet in height, and southward to the plains of Bengal and the Panjab, and even, I should now think, to the Pir Panjal of Kashmir; although, not having as yet seen it, I was unable, when at Simla, to detect it amongst so many other mountain-ranges. A forest, chiefly of pines, covered the sides and summits in every direction; but is now much thinned by the clearance necessary to the building of between 100 and 200 houses, exceedingly neat and even elegant in their structure, but which often pay heavily for their picturesque situation; for during the rains, the first question asked was, not so often regarding a man's health, as whether his house leaked or not. That occupied by the Governor-general stands conspicuously upon an eminence in the vicinity of the bazaar; low, but strongly built, and painted green. An excellent bridle-road, for which the residents are, I believe, mainly indebted to the orders of Capt. Kennedy, circles round the mountain-sides for a distance of a dozen miles, affording a changing succession of noble prospects at every turn; the snowy range being always the most prominent feature in the landscape, excepting, perhaps, when, in early spring, the rhododendron, there a forest tree of forty or fifty feet in height, and very numerous in some places, covers the dell and its banks with "one scarlet gleam," and rivets attention and admiration by the extraordinary magnificence of its flowers.

No one visits Simla without descending to Annadale, to pay a rupi for seeing a mother put her child

to sleep, by laying it so that a small stream of water is allowed to pour for two or three hours upon the back of its head. The natives say that it is a healthy practice; that their fathers did so before them; and they still continue to do so, although they admit that many of their children die under such treatment.

The generality of the British officers, civil and military, in India, are the finest fellows in the world. Of gentle, perhaps of aristocratic lineage, and fresh from the liberal education of a public school, a young man arrives in India as in a new state of existence. He suddenly finds himself in the possession of money, and much that money can command; and when the first regrets at leaving England are over, he generally allows himself to view every thing on its brightest side, and the fire and the freedom of young and British blood are evinced in the manly and unfettered generosity of his disposition, and the fearless dare-devilry with which he courts every danger, including those of the sun and the hunting-field.

In Indian life there is one anomaly, and several drawbacks, which it will take years, perhaps ages, to remedy. The young sub. finds that a young lady prefers a coloured coat to a red one; and he also finds that, from a dearth of the commodity, he cannot choose a wife when he wishes to do so. He is exposed to the dangers of the climate, and the almost equally dangerous vicinity of native females; and at a still later period he finds himself under the necessity of sending his children to England for their education, and, perhaps, his wife is also obliged to go with them for the benefit of her health. But for these reasons, India might be rendered, what it cannot

be whilst they exist — an English home in all senses of the word.

There is no place where the empire of a pretty woman is so extensive as in India; there is no place where her pre-eminence is so distinguished, no place where her merits and demerits are so canvassed and compared; consequently there is no place where my fair countrywomen have more influence, or where it is in their power to do so much good of every kind.

It is not to be denied that there never was such a place as India for scandal. But the reason must be sought for in the paucity of other materials for conversation, rather than in the frequency of real causes, —which in fact do not exist, and cannot, I believe, as Indian society is constituted, and Indian houses are constructed, exist to any considerable extent.

Religion, it is to be regretted, owing to local reasons, but partially occupies that position which it has a right to. It yields to the force and frequency of temptation; it is kept in the background; but it generally remains, as it were, within hail; and although it is sometimes lost sight of entirely, yet its ordinances are never treated with open blasphemy or wanton disrespect.

The clergymen who are sent to India should be men of the first talent in their profession. It is not sufficient, in my humble judgment, that they be men of piety, and reading, and benevolence. Of this class there are many, and they do their duty to the utmost; but the good they do is merely stationary, and it does not increase as might be wished. I venture an opinion that they are not generally men of sufficiently commanding talent; and one of my reasons for thinking so is, that although I have sometimes heard of such

a one as "a clever man," yet, during the whole time I remained within the Company's territories, I rarely remember to have been advised to go and hear Mr. Such-a-one because he was a fine preacher. I think that the good which might be done by clergymen who are attractive in the pulpit by their eloquence, their sincerity, and in society by the superiority of mind, manners, and character, would be very great indeed. Many would go to hear them regularly who now never resort to a place of worship at all; the churches would be crowded; and the influence of such a man would be felt to an extent that would soon alter the tone of society for the better. I think therefore that nothing should be withheld which would induce clergymen of this description to go out to India.

When a young civilian or soldier becomes a diplomat, or a "bahadur," or great man, in the public service, it is not without some risk of losing a portion of that amiability of character by which he has hitherto been distinguished. He has seen in most cases but little of the world; and as he thinks that the eyes of the world are upon him, the pleasure of power is sometimes too much for him. His city is a country of itself; the limited sphere of his dominion is a monarchy of which he would be the autocrat; the little brief authority with which he is invested is watched over with a jealousy that is injurious rather than beneficial to the interests of the Company; and nowhere should a superior be compelled to a more rigid notice, and report, of the services and merits of those beneath him, than in India.

I think I should as soon forget the warmth of the climate as the warmth of the hospitality of India.

There are not, as is well known, any inns excepting at or near the capitals; and the traveller in the Presidencies reposes quietly in his palanquin as he moves across the jungle, with the certainty of finding as kind a reception in the house he is going to, as he experienced in that which he has quitted on the preceding evening. His host is ready to lend him every thing that is lendable. If he be a sportsman, he has only to express a wish, and a tent is pitched for him in the jungle; and elephants (if his host have the command of any), dogs, guns, and beaters, are at his disposal. If, as he proceeds, he prefer riding, his palanquin is sent on in advance, and horses are laid for him at intervals of ten or twelve miles, more or less; so that a gallop of thirty or forty miles before breakfast is a very common occurrence, and a very agreeable way of travelling it is.

Of such stuff, then, are composed the officers of an army whose admirable and uncompromising discipline is sufficient in most cases to prevent, and in all cases to correct, the forgetfulness of that gentlemanly or officerlike feeling and conduct, which might result from the abuse of too much liberty, in the hands of the young and inexperienced—a discipline whose unparalleled and commanding influence has amalgamated the prejudices of caste, has enlisted to itself the haughty chivalry of the Rajput, the privileges of the aristocratic Brahmin, and the stern pride of the bigoted Mahometan; all of whom, absorbed in the firmest reliance on the good faith of their employers, and united in their wonderful attachment to the British uniform, would seem, to a man, to have forgotten that their wars are civil wars, that the banners

under which they fight are those of their invaders, that the enemy against whom they are marched are their own countrymen, and that the arena for the display of their military prowess is generally neither more nor less than the surface of their native soil.

The rains lasted till the middle of September, and I at length listened with pleasure to the low and continued muttering of the thunder which always portends their exhaustion, and gave assurance of release from them, and the possibility of travelling without further interruption. I started across the mountains for Messuri, which, I need scarcely remark, is also a Bengal sanatorium. On the way, Mr. Lee Warner, my companion, and myself, received an invitation from Major Everest, Surveyor-General of India, at that time on the Chúr, conducting the grand trigonometrical survey, and of whose hospitality I shall ever retain a grateful recollection. The Chúr is one of the noblest second-rate mountains in the world; its height is upwards of 12,500 feet; its sides are clothed with a dark and dense pine forest, many of the trees of which are immensely large, both in girth and height. Almost every animal that is found, either in the plains or the mountains adjoining them, is, no doubt, an inhabitant of its immense and gloomy jungles.

After winding our way through this jungle, by the steep and somewhat difficult path which led towards the summit, we found we had surmounted the limit of forest (11,500 feet) and emerged upon some rocky scenery and a beautiful park, whose soft and extensive lawns were thickly covered by a carpet of wild strawberry, or potentillas. The camp of our host was pitched as near as possible on the very top, and our chief object was

to keep ourselves warm. The tent in which we dined was furnished with a lighted stove, and the entrance carefully closed against air, whilst we drank our wine and talked to a late hour above the clouds. On the huge granite rocks that formed the very apex of the mountain, the labourers in attendance had formed a platform of loose stones, purposely carried thither, and in the centre of it they planted a mast, as a mark for the survey. Several that they had previously raised on other summits were visible only by the aid of the theodolite; and a powerful heliotrope (in use at Saharanpur in the plains) might, it was supposed, have reflected the sun's rays towards us from a distance of sixty miles.

I can never forget the glorious view of the snowy range, some sixty or seventy miles from us, in a straight line from this spot, as the morning broke over the sacred peaks of Jumnutri and Gangutri;* the latter being still farther removed from us to the eastward.

The entire range of the Himalaya, upon whose most elevated pinnacles (20–25,000 feet) the rose-coloured light seemed to pause before it ventured into the yet gloomy atmosphere to the southward of it, was extended from west to east as far as the eye could reach, rearing itself high and magnificently above the upper surface of the dense strata of clouds that covered the great valleys at its base, like the turbulent billows of an inland sea. Into these were projected a number of black promontories, formed by the pine-covered ridges of the intervening mountains, and which again were

* Sources of the Jumna and the Ganges.

partially hidden, or occasionally insulated, by the detached and slowly moving masses of mist that sometimes rolled over them, and descended their sides with a regularity resembling that of a flood.

It was worth a fever, and a journey from Bombay, to see the sun topping the summits of Bunderpúch (the monkey's tail). The chilled and frosty air became instantly and perceptibly warmer, as he appeared in the heavens above them, and the smoky sameness of all around and beneath was succeeded by the natural hues of daylight, combined with the utmost grandeur and distinctness of outline. The rich, tawny, autumnal colour that overspread the immediate foreground, was finely contrasted with the grey granite rocks with which it was strewed, the ledges of the same formation by which it was intersected, and the dark verdure and bleached trunks of the fir-trees on the limit of forest that girdled round the shoulders of the mountain, some hundreds of feet below us. Some of the bungalows, at the eastern end of Simla, twenty-six miles distant, were plainly to be seen with the naked eye; and the village of Serai, from which we had ascended, was only discernible as a speck, with its patches of red and yellow batu * on the hill-sides, at a depth of three thousand feet beneath us. To the southward, the view was of a different character; but its boundless extent was a compensation for its inferior grandeur. Near the base of the mountain, but hidden from us was the large village of Nahun, not far from whence were discovered the fossil remains (and the Sivatherium amongst them),

* The plant known as the cock'scomb, both in English and in Persian (*Amaranthus cruentus*). Bread-cakes, made from the seed, are a common food with the peasants of the Himalaya.

which have been given to the scientific world by the united labours of Dr. Falconer and Captain Cantley. The snug and beautiful undulations of the Dhera Dhún were not perceptible on account of the distance; and the low hills of conglomerate, known by the name of the Sivalik range, by which the Dhún is separated from the spurs of the Himalaya, seemed to be of pigmy heights, although the highest of them, close to the Timli pass, and thirty-six miles distant, which had been selected as a station by the officers of the grand trigonometrical survey, and on which glistened another heliotrope, is more than two thousand feet above the sea. Town after town, mere inequalities on the surface of the plains, were pointed out to me in succession; and the minars of Imperial Delhi, or at least its locality, are, I was told, though I could not then discern them, sometimes visible on the horizon from the summit of the Chúr.

We descended and proceeded on our march to Missuri,—more properly, I believe, called Munsuri. Amongst some of the natives of the Alpine Bengal, a custom, it is well known, prevails, of one woman being married to a whole family of brothers. My classical companion pointed out to me the following passage of Cæsar's "Commentaries," shewing that a similar custom existed amongst the ancient Britons:—"Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis. Sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, a quibus primùm virgines quæque ductæ sunt."—Cæsar *de Bello Gallico*. Lib. V. Cap. xiv.

Of Simla and Missuri, I scarcely know which I should prefer as a residence; though the vicinity of so

sporting a place as the Dhera Dhún, and the more easy attainment of the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna, are considerable advantages enjoyed by the latter.

A great number of the houses at either place are occupied by ladies who are obliged to remain there for the benefit of their health, and whose husbands cannot obtain leave to accompany them. These ladies are known by the well-selected epithet of "Grass Widows;" and there are sometimes more than fifty of them at each sanatorium.

At Missuri I found a home at Newlands, the residence of my friend Captain Morse Cooper, which soon afterwards, and within the space of a few months, was twice destroyed by lightning, to which its isolated situation, which was perhaps the most beautiful at Missuri, could not but expose it.

I thence descended into the Dhún, and drank the waters of the sacred river at Hurdwar (Hurri-Durwasu, the Gate of Vishnu), having thus arrived

> "Ad usque
> Decolor extremo quà cingitur India Gange."—
> OVID, *Met.* Lib. iv.

Hurdwar is to the Hindus what Mecca is to the Mahometans, and hundreds of thousands are assembled there when the great fair takes place. Above Hurdwar, the stream of the river, after it issues from the mountains, is deep, clear, and rather rapid; and the sportsmen of Bengal repair to its banks to catch fever and mahasir, a fish that rises to a fly, like a salmon, and affords very good sport, although not so active when hooked. The Dhún would have been

a valley resembling that of Kashmir had the Sivalik range been raised to a greater height. It is, however, a most picturesque spot, containing in some places a profusion of game, from a quail to a wild elephant. Here also is the Fort of Kalunga, where General Gillespie was killed, and the king's troops were a moment beaten off by the determined valour of the Gurkhas.

Of all the nations on the confines of India, the Nepalese are by far the most formidable, and bear by far the most deadly hatred to the British power, beneath which they were forced by Sir David Ochterlony to succumb. There is not a large town in India where they have not one or more secret emissaries, doing their utmost to injure us; and no new movement of importance is introduced into her Majesty's army which may not soon afterwards be observed upon the parade-ground of Katmandu, their capital.

But all their efforts must remain as useless as they are at present; for although the lance, sword, and matchlock may be, as they often have been, formidable in the hands of a native Sepahi, if no other weapon but the bayonet or the carabine existed to oppose them, yet the British artillery, speaking in a voice of thunder from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, exists as an arm which must always give us the victory, and in the scientific use of which all merely native competition must be utterly futile.

I must not forget to mention that I again, *en passant*, paid a visit to the Surveyor-General in the Dhún, where he was encamped, for the purpose of measuring a base of verification, seven miles in length, the jungle being first cleared for that distance, and the level being carried across numerous hollows by

means of movable wooden bridges. The manner in which every thing was conducted appeared to me to be most admirable, and the whole establishment was on a scale that was worthy of the best days of the Hon. E. I. Company.

My permission to cross the Sutlej and visit Kashmir, provided that the Maharajah, Runjet Singh, had no objections, was forwarded to me at Meerut. I was present at the Allyghur races, the best in the north of India, and saw the shine taken out of the Bengalis by the Mull (Madras) horse, Salonica, a splendid grey Arab, so called; though, from his height, it may be much doubted whether he was of the pure blood; and especially as it is known that the dealers on the Arabian coast have crossed their breed of horses with the Persian, thereby attaining a greater stride, and a horse better adapted to the turf, and the eye of an English customer in India. I thence passed on to Agra to see all that remained of the magnificence of the Moguls;—the Taj,* the Moti Musjid,† the ruins Futipur Sikri,‡ and Sekundra, the tomb of Akber,—a truly splendid, imposing, and effective structure, but not more so than the memory of so great a man deserves. I also made a short excursion to Díg and Bhurtpúr, and whatever was to be seen in the neighbourhood.

To the great kindness of my friends Mr. and Mrs. Boldero I was indebted, among other things, for a visit to Khasgungi, the residence of the late Colonel Gardner, whose distinguished career in India

* Taj Mahal, the crown of the Harem.

† The pearl mosque. ‡ The city of victory.

has rendered his name familiar with every European in the country. I was fortunate in being present at the marriage of his grandaughter with Unjim Shikoh, one of the Princes of Delhi, or Timurians, as they are generally called,—a much more correct name for the Indian Emperors than that of Mogul. Our mornings were spent in shooting and chita-hunting, or rather hunting antelopes with a chita. I shot mullet as they rose to suck at the surface of the Khasgungi stream; and the jungle near the banks of the Ganges contained florican and wild ducks and geese, the latter being abundant in some places. Mr. Gardner's dogs were suddenly attacked, when on the water of the Khasgungi stream, by a dozen otters, but not one of the latter were to be found upon our repairing to the spot the next morning; they had travelled a long way in the night, and it was too hot to follow them after a certain hour. We both fired at the same time at a large alligator, and killed him; and after trying which could cut the hardest with a sword, one of the servants in attendance chose to examine the contents of his stomach, and directly pulled out a human arm.

Chita-hunting has been often described, but it requires strong epithets to give an idea of the chita's speed. When slipped from the cart, he first walks towards the antelope, with his tail straightened and slightly raised, the hackle on his shoulder erect, his head depressed, and his eye intently fixed upon the poor animal, who does not as yet perceive him. As the antelope moves, he does the same, first trotting, then cantering after him, and when the prey starts off, the chita makes a rush to which, at least I thought so, the speed of a race-horse was, for the moment, much

inferior. The chitas that bound or spring upon their game are not much esteemed, as they are too cunning; the good ones run it fairly down. When we consider that no English greyhound ever yet, I believe, ran fairly into a doe antelope, which is faster than the buck, some idea may be formed of the strides and velocity of an animal who usually closes up with her immediately, but fortunately cannot draw a second breath; and, consequently, unless he strike the antelope down at once, is instantly obliged to stop, and give up the chase. He then walks about for three or four minutes in a towering passion; after which he submits to be again helped on to the cart. He always singles out the biggest buck from the herd, and holds him by the throat until he is stifled, keeping one paw over the horns to prevent injury to himself. The doe he seizes in the same manner, but is careless of the position in which he may hold her.

The speed of the caracal, or Indian lynx, is, if possible, quicker in proportion than that of the chita. I saw one slipped at a grey fox, and he ran into him as a dog would at a rat. He often catches crows as they rise from the ground, by springing five or six feet into the air after them.

The intimacy that existed between the Colonel's family and my last-mentioned friends, procured me the distinguished honour of an introduction to Mrs. James Gardner, a niece of the King of Delhi, and the most celebrated native beauty in India, whom no European gentleman, Mr. Boldero and one medical officer excepted, had ever been permitted to set eyes upon. Report had certainly not belied her countenance, which was the finest I ever saw in the East. In her

figure were united the graceful proportions of the Indian with the more rounded outlines of the European. Her hand and arm were a study for a sculptor; and the utmost regularity of feature, composed of the most perfect and delicate curves, was lighted up with a fire and expression that made her a fitting study for her renowned ancestor, the haughty and impetuous Nur Jehan Begum, the light of the world.

The marriage which I witnessed, was conducted on a scale of splendour that could, I thought, have been hardly exceeded even in the best days of the Moguls. There was every where a confusion of shawls and brocades, and Nautches, fireworks, illuminations, and processions; the Huli* and the exhibitions of the strolling mimics and mountebanks were the order of the day and night, and kept up the most lively interest in the scene.

For three days before that on which the marriage was to take place, the high contracting parties were crammed, according to custom, with sweetmeats and *bonbons*, and were literally permitted to eat nothing else, the bride in particular being allowed to do nothing else; she sits up in state, surrounded by her friends and relations, and scarcely moves, excepting when she retires to rest. The consequence was, that the bride-

* Throwing red powder at each other, and then squirting water upon the soiled garments, seems to constitute the principal part of the sports of the Huli, which had its rise in some festive observance connected with the conversion of a Hindu to the Mahomedan faith. I have seen two battalions of Runjit's favourite troops drawn up before him, facing inwards, at a distance of two yards apart, and then creating a mimic smoke by throwing red powder in each other's faces, to the infinite amusement of the Maharajah and his durbar.

groom, when mounted on his elephant, bearing a silver howdah, himself being dressed in a gorgeous costume of cloth of gold, had the aspect of a man going to be hanged rather than to be married, and to this day I have not forgotten the despairing, d—n-those-sweet-meats-like look which he gave me as he passed.

I was admitted, as a great favour, to see a custom peculiar, I believe, to the Timurians, and which, perhaps, no European ever saw before. Immediately after the marriage ceremony the bridegroom has the bride taken to his home; but before she quitted her palanquin, which was set down close to it, she thrust her bared foot—a very pretty one, and dyed with henna at the extremities—through the sliding doors, and the bridegroom touched her great toe with the blood of a goat, which I saw him kill with his own hands, whilst yet in his bridal dress and turban, by then and there cutting its throat. When this was done, the bride withdrew her foot, and I made my bow, and the bride and bridegroom retired to their inner apartments.

The story of Mulka Begum, or Mrs. James Gardner, is romantic and interesting, and I give it as it was detailed to me by her husband.

Col. Gardner had always looked upon the Hazur (the Presence, as her father the king's brother was termed) in the light of an old friend. The Colonel in early life married a Begum of the house of Cambay, and Mulka Begum having been separated from her first husband, who was her cousin, and is, I believe, the present King of Delhi, had been promised in marriage to her present husband, the second and only son of the Colonel. Her own and favourite sister was married to the late King of Lucknow, and when on a

visit to her, his reprobate majesty chose to fall in love with her; and as the attachment was all on his side, he chose to play the tyrant, and made her a close prisoner.

Col. Gardner, instigated by those chivalrous feelings which were interwoven in his character, and thinking himself, moreover, under all circumstances, in every way justified in doing so, determined to attempt her rescue; and by dint of bribery, and some fighting, succeeded in carrying her off from Lucknow, and eventually received herself, her father, and several of her brothers, as his guests at Khasgungi. Mulka was provided with apartments in a bara deri, or pavilion, in the centre of the Zunana Gardens; but the "*mille custodie*" were of no use; messages were passed between her and her present lord, encouragement was given, the wall was scaled, interviews were granted, they determined not to wait any longer, and an elopement was agreed upon.

Had her brothers known of it, they would have put her to death rather than permit her to have taken such a step. The river of Khasgungi is about three-quarters of a mile from the Colonel's house, and if she could reach the opposite bank all beyond was safe. Accordingly, a palanquin, with forty bearers, was in readiness without the wall, and small fighting detachments, composed of adherents and individuals that could be depended upon, were stationed at short intervals to offer opposition to pursuit, and the palanquin contained a pair of loaded pistols, with which its inmate would have destroyed herself sooner than have fallen into the hands of her infuriated brothers. The latter, however, only appeared in time to see the palanquin arrive at the brink of the stream, and

then retired in a rage; whilst Mr. Gardner escorted his beloved charge to his residence at Kutchora, some fifteen or sixteen miles distant.

A legal marriage soon afterwards took place, and all parties are now reconciled. His father, however, was so much incensed with him for the breach of confidence, that he refused to see or hear from him for a great length of time, and his anger would have continued, had not his son one day received intelligence of his being on the banks of the stream. He embraced the opportunity, rode through the water, threw himself at his father's feet, and implored his forgiveness, which was granted; and the gallant old Colonel, who had never seen the face of his daughter-in-law, was now, of course, introduced to her. Not many days had elapsed before he told his son, that though his opinion of his conduct could not but remain unchanged, as far as principle was concerned, yet that he had ceased to be surprised at it, after he had witnessed her extraordinary beauty.

I now hastened away to Lodiana, and was most kindly received by Capt. (now Sir Claude Martine) Wade, C.B., the then Sikh political agent, until permission arrived from Runjit for me to cross the Sutlej and visit Kashmir.

One of the government treasure-chests was robbed whilst I was at Lodiana, and after all ordinary means for detection had been resorted to, it was determined to adopt some that are in use amongst the natives themselves. The opposite ends of two arrows are held by, or rather laid upon, the hands by two persons placed opposite to each other. They are also parallel to, and just far enough apart from, each other, to allow of the

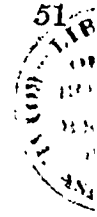
suspected person's hand being held between them. The ends of the arrows, in fact, merely rest upon the fingers. If the person be guilty, the arrows, unless grasped so as to prevent them from doing so, are supposed to close upon the inserted hand. I held them at one end, and the arrows certainly closed upon it; but I attribute it to the natural inclination of the hand to shut, after having been wearied by any particular position. A descendant of the Prophet, who knew the Koran by heart, then took the man aside, and adjured him to confess, but to no purpose.

Chewing rice is another mode which I saw practised, and must be a terrible ordeal to a frightened man. The Sepahis were all placed in a circle, and a quantity of dry rice was given to each, which they began to chew, no water being allowed them. Fear sometimes prevents the saliva from flowing, mastication becomes impossible, and the criminal is often forced to confess. All, however, was ineffectual in this case, and the robbery, which was committed by the Sepahi on guard, was not proved against him until months afterwards.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Lodiana — Arrival at Rupur — Elephant riding — Field of the Cloth of Gold — The Rajah of Rupur — The Sutlej — The Pinjor Valley — Hindu Temple — The Sacred Peacock — The City of Peace — The Sacred Peak of Nina Devi — The Sikhs — A Levee At Fresco — Eastern Etiquette — Beautiful and Singular Well — Botany of the Jungle — Lake of Khundalu — Jungle Fowl — Summer Residence of Capt. Wade — Native Fortress — Anticipation — Classical Reminiscences — Arrival at Bilaspur — Visit to the Rajah — His Palace and Retinue — Rebellion and its Fruits — How to treat an uncivil Rajah — Singular mode of crossing the Sutlej — Mode of Travelling — Attendants and Retinue — Native Servants — Necessary Precautions — The Advantages of being Cheated — Diet and Clothing — Advice to Travellers in the East — Gymnastics — Sleeping in the East — How to avoid Quarrelling.



CHAPTER II.

On the evening of the 1st of June, 1835, I quitted Lodiana, for the mountains, in Capt. Wade's carriage, accompanied by himself and some other officers, who were on leave of absence, in order to enjoy the cooler air of Simla. We proceeded in a northerly direction to our resting-place, where our tents were pitched for the night.

The sun arose the next morning with its usual brilliancy, but a fall of rain had dispelled the feverish heat of the preceding day, and we enjoyed an exhilarating canter over the flat, open greensward on the banks of the Sutlej, which I alone, the envied of my companions, was so soon about to cross, on my way towards the untried and fairy wilds of far-famed Kashmir.

Mile after mile of the most northerly confines of British Hindustan were rapidly passed over; villages were neared, and receded in the distance; and every stride added distinctness of shape and colouring to the low and rugged acclivities that rise abruptly from the level of the plains, and form the first stepping-stones to the more gigantic peaks of the Himalaya.* We thus avoided exposure to the sun at noonday, and arriving

* Him or hem, snow; and Alaya, a place.

at Rupur by eleven o'clock, we immediately took up our quarters in a summerhouse belonging to the Rajah, situated in a garden adjoining his own residence. In the afternoon we were accommodated with elephants, and proceeded to visit the environs of the town. I was mounted upon a young one, who was not above four feet six inches high; he had a ring in his ear, by which his keeper led him to the right or left, and he walked away merrily at the rate of four miles an hour.

From an eminence on the north, we obtained a good view of a place that is probably destined to become of very considerable commercial importance, and one at which, some time hence, a fair may be held, that will diminish the number of the trading devotees at Hurdwar * (although that place is situated at the debouchure of the Ganges upon the plains), when water conveyance is in full play on the Sutlej. The mountaineers who frequent the annual fair at Rampur,† five days' march inland from Simla, will then be induced to extend their pilgrimage to Rupur,‡ if not to Lodiana, where they will find a market well-stocked with British manufactures, and a ready sale for their Tibetian shawl wool.

The town of Rupur, otherwise insignificant, and previously unheard of, excepting in the north of India, has become a place of notoriety, on account of its having been the scene of meeting between the Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck, and Runjit Singh, in October, 1831, a full account of which will be found in Prinsep's "Life of Runjit Singh." The magnifi-

* Huri Durwasu, the gates of Huri or Vishnu.

† The City of Rama. ‡ The City of Silver.

cence displayed there procured for it, as is well known, the appellation of "the Field of the Cloth of Gold."

The revenue of Rupur, one of the protected Sikh states,* amounts to 60,000 rupees (6000*l.*) yearly. The Rajah has no children, and consequently, after his death, the whole of his territory will lapse to the East India Company; although his anxiety to transmit his possessions to his posterity has shewn itself in the adoption of a child, whom he vainly hopes will be allowed to succeed him.

The Sutlej, or Hyphasis of the Greeks, and the Satudra, Sutluk or Garra of the Hindus, washes the eastern extremity of the first low ridge that descends upon it from the north-west, and thence commences its course over the plains of India. It is a noble stream, thirty feet deep, and more than five hundred yards in breadth. The country on the left bank continues open for several miles farther to the north-east. Two valleys, in fact, lie to the right and left, as we approach the mountains: that on the left is called Makowal, and is green, fertile, and watered by the Sutlej; on the right commences that of Pinjor, and that again is connected with the Dhera Dhún,† both already noticed in the introductory chapter. The Pinjor valley is watered by a small stream called the Sirsa, and by another that flows from the Khundalu lake.

On the next morning we marched along the left bank of the Sutlej, and arrived at a place called Ke-

* For the account of the treaty or declaration under which the numerous Sikh states eastward of the Sutlej are protected by the East India Company, *vide* Prinsep's "Runjit Singh," p. 72.

† Dhera is a station; and Dhún is a low valley at the foot of a mountain.

rutpor, where, in a grove or tope of mangoe-trees, which threw a most grateful shade over the whole encampment, the Rajah had constructed two temporary buildings of thatch-work, for the reception of Capt. Wade and his guests. On the summit of the bank that arose near the grove, was an elegant Hindu temple, approached by one of the grandest flights of stone steps I have ever seen. Around it the alluvium was broken and divided into hillocks and pinnacles, by the effect of the rains, and on every pinnacle sat a wild peacock, who, doubly protected by his own divine character, and the acknowledged sanctity of the place, displayed his gorgeous colours to the setting sun, with as much unconcern as if he had been lording it over his companions in an English farmyard.

At a very early hour the next morning I galloped to Anandpur * situated seven miles farther up the valley. In the distance it appears to be an insignificant place, but improves upon a nearer acquaintance; and I found that it contained several large brick buildings, with flat roofs and windowless walls, that gave it a sombre but rather imposing aspect. The most interesting object in the landscape is the celebrated peak of Nina Devi, which rises in the background to an elevation of about 3000 feet above the town. The outline of its summit is singularly like that of a Sikh turban, which leaves an end falling down the back of the neck, and is wound in thin and scanty folds around the head, after the long hair has been gathered into a ball over the forehead; so that it projects more in front than in any other part.

* Anandpur, the City of Peace.

"The Sikhs," says Mr. Prinsep, in his preface to the Life of Runjit Singh, "are a religious sect established in the time of Baber, by Nanuk Shah, the propagator of the doctrines of universal toleration, and the zealous projector of an union of faith between the Hindus and Mahommedans, on the basis of the unity of the godhead. The sect was continued, and its tenets and creed embodied in sacred volumes, called Grunths, by a succession of ten sainted gurus or priests, ending with Guru Govind, who lived in the time of Aurung Zeeb, and who, meeting persecution, and afterwards taking advantage of the then weakness of the empire, and the troubles consequent upon his death, converted his followers from peaceable and industrious citizens into deadly enemies to the Moghul empire and the Mooslem faith," &c.

Baba Nanuk respected the civil institutions of the Hindus; but Guru Govind Singh abolished caste, and was, of course, immediately joined by those whom its thraldom had for ages precluded from eminence. The young Sikh was then, as now, like the ancient Scythian, brought up to be a warrior. M. Court once remarked to me on this head, "Quand on peut bien courber un arc, couper bien avec un sabre, et monter bien à cheval, voilà, monsieur, une éducation parfaite!"

The peak of Nina Devi is held in sacred estimation by the Sikh, because Guru Govind Singh ascended to its summit, and there, surrounded by a few faithful followers, concerted measures for the propagation of their faith. A flight of stone steps conducts the devotee from the base to the summit, on which there is, I believe, a small temple worth seeing; but I did not visit it, on account of the great heat.

I had an interview with the Thanadar,* on the broad top of a lofty wall in the centre of the city,—a strange place for a levee,—there being hardly room for our chairs, and a well-directed rush, *à la* Manlius, would have sent a score of us to the pavement below. But then, it was the coolest place, and there was a good view of the city and the surrounding country; and the Thanadar would not lose in importance by giving the inhabitants an opportunity of seeing that he sat on a chair when receiving a visit from an English sahib.

My servant acted as interpreter. Servants, in the East particularly, always try to magnify the consequence of their masters, because it increases their own; and upon this occasion, I suppose (for I could not understand five words of the conversation, and had nothing to do but to sit still and try to appear dignified), that my own did not stick at trifles, as I was presented with sugar-candy and a kilaat, or dress of honour (of no great value however), in token of the man's respect for me.

I may here remark, that amongst Orientals, the manner in which a guest or visitor is received determines the estimation in which he is held. The first visit should be paid by an inferior. The advance to a meeting, or the remaining at home, the rising from your seat as the guest approaches, and the distance at which he is placed, are all matters of etiquette, the observance of which should rarely be neglected at first, however they may partially be dispensed with afterwards, when an acquaintance has commenced. A person of consideration, such as the Governor of a

* Thanadar, mayor or chief man of a place.

fort, a priest, or a military native officer of rank, should be allowed a chair. The next grade, such as a munshi,* or a thanadar, must be contented with a mora, or stool. The next in inferiority of the same class will think himself fortunate if he be allowed to sit on the carpet; and persons below them in rank are not allowed to sit down at all. Absurd and illiberal as all these ceremonies may appear, an attention to them is indispensable. Worth and character are so entirely commensurate with outward pageant, and the love of importance and distinction follows so closely upon ignorance, that a man who wishes to visit any European sahib, and is in doubt as to his reception in the manner which he considers himself entitled to, will sometimes send an attendant beforehand, who will try to persuade and bribe his munshi to represent his master as a fit person to be allowed a chair, and will urge the request himself, and adduce instances of his master having dined or breakfasted with such and such a one, or having been in the habit of visiting such and such sahibs, who always allowed him a chair, &c.

On my return to breakfast with my companions, I dismounted to look at a splendid well, very deep, the water being attainable by successive flights of steps and landing-places, as handsome as masonry could make them. The country immediately on the banks of the river had very much the appearance of marsh land in England when burnt up by an extraordinary summer.

We were now moving in the direction of Khundalu.†

* A secretary.

† Khundalu, the lake, or fountain, of wild plums, or apples.

The rugged character of the scenery became more *prononcé*, and the silence was broken only by the sound of our own voices, or the ripple of the stream, which, so lately on a level with us in the plains, was now seen and heard in the dark recesses of the dell above which we were gradually elevated. The lofty ridge of alluvium alternated with the deepening ravine; the steep bank was gradually heightened into precipice; and our horses walked with caution on the pathway worn in some places over the solid rock; whilst the *pinus longifolia* (resembling the Scotch fir, but with longer leaves), elms, willows, gentian, geraniums, campanala, roses, &c., and other plants characteristic of an European climate, were occasionally to be detected in the jungle around us, intermingled with many of the vegetable productions of the torrid zone.

We descended into the hollow in which the lake of Khundalu is extended, and encamped near a small Hindu temple on its margin. Its level is about 2800 feet above that of the sea, and its length a mile and a half, but increased to another mile during the rainy season. It abounds with fish (that, I believe, which is miscalled a trout in the Himalaya), is very deep, and Captain Wade told me that he had once sounded it to a depth of 138 feet. The natives say, of course, that it is unfathomable. We remarked that it resembled Ullswater, though not nearly so large or so clear; nor has it the advantages of artificial embellishment of any kind; but the resemblance consists in its winding length, and its being imprisoned amongst hills bearing a similar outline, and covered with jungle to the water's edge.

The village is about three quarters of a mile from the lake, and lies directly in the road from Lodiana to Ladak; and the merchants who carry on the trading intercourse between the mountain banks of the Sutlej and the plains, would, if the commercial inducements were sufficiently powerful, prefer travelling by that way to Rupur, instead of the route by Rampore and Simla, which is more circuitous.

The jungle fowl were crowing around us on the next morning, as we ascended the mountain which did duty for Helvellyn, and on whose rounded summit Captain Wade had determined to build a summer residence. We all approved of the site he had chosen; and his windows now command a view of Malaun, and a magnificent outline of mountain scenery to the north; whilst to the southward, the course of the Sutlej may be followed to an immense distance over the plains of Hindustan.

Khundalu may be reached on the third day from Lodiana, and the whitened fronts of its mountain residences will be seen glistening in the sunbeams, for many a mile before the flat-bottomed steamers arrive at their destination at Rupur.

The descent into the valley of the Gamrára river, and the subsequent ascent to the Heights of Malaun, were exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the great heat of the day, and the difficulties of a path so steep and intricate, that we were obliged to dismount and advance on foot to the summit of the ridge, on the extremity of which the Raj-Gurh, or fort of the country, is situated. Captain Kennedy, the then political agent, had lately repaired it by order of Government, and it afforded us small but comfortable quarters. It consists of a court-yard, a few small rooms, and

a magazine, the whole occupying about 100 yards by 20, and surrounded by a strong wall without a ditch. Its situation, at the extremity of the ridge, being inaccessible excepting on one side, it was no doubt thought impregnable by the natives, until it surrendered to Sir David Ochterlony on the 15th of May, 1815, after he had succeeded in placing a battery in position on the opposite side.*

The beautiful view before us was gilded by the suffocating rays of an Indian sunset, and I descended the mountain with a joyous feeling of excitement, produced by the inspiration of a cooler air than that of the plains. I felt myself to be in the best possible humour with existence; I was thinking of nothing less than its termination, and mentally anticipating, without heeding the chances of failure or disappointment, the prospects of a roving journey in new and fabled countries, combining in themselves an accumulated variety of interest, which, perhaps, no others could boast at the same period.

The wilds of America are replete with attractions to the physiologist and the natural historian, but have few others, unless for those to whom the capabilities for colonisation and the extension of trade form an exception. An expedition to the north or south pole, where there is so little variety in the scene, and so much uncertainty to be waited for, affords the strongest proof of the dogged determination of human enterprise. But I confess that I have no inclination to visit either; and, on the other hand, I should never wish to turn my steps towards the regions of Tim-

* For the details of the siege of this celebrated eagle's nest, *vide* Prinsep's "Transactions in India." Article, Nepal war, p. 170.

buctoo; although, in mentioning the latter place, I hope I may not be understood to identify it with the interior of Africa,—of the southern part of which we have lately heard so much from Captains Harris and Alexander, and are now so anxious to know more.

The interior of the latter continent, I need scarcely remark, has already been the grave of much British enterprise, capital, and benevolence. In all notices of that country, the slave-trade has hitherto figured as the most prominent theme; and the results of philosophical and geographical research, and the hopes and fears incidental to commercial speculation, are, or should be, less engrossing than the subject of humanity, and the approaching well-being of so large a portion of the human race.

But real, lasting, and worthy of observation as these results are, I cannot, as a traveller, detect in the countries I have alluded to, such a combination of inducements as are offered by the unexplored regions of Asia. The former have, in common with all, an interest created by the past, the present, and the future; they can display as fine a field, perhaps a finer, for the geologist and the natural historian; but, comparatively speaking, they have little interest that can be termed historical, classical, political, antiquarian, or poetical,—with which the countries I have visited so pre-eminently abound.

From the earliest ages the Hindus and the Chinese have preserved the same extraordinary religion, laws, and customs, which they hold at this day. The "fabulosus Hydaspes" has its thousand sources in the far-famed and oft-sung valley of Kashmir; on its banks the formidable Porus was vanquished by Alexander;

Mahometan conquerors have followed in his wake; and I need scarcely remark upon the interest which the political changes that are taking place in Affghanistan, and the neighbouring countries, are now beginning to command in England, and which they so well deserve.

I had forwarded a letter to the Bilaspur* Rajah, who accordingly provided me and my people with every necessary, and assigned me quarters in a summer-house standing in the midst of a grove of orange-trees, from the edge of which I looked down upon the Sutlej. Bilaspur stands about 2000 feet above the level of the sea. The situation is very picturesque; open, cultivated, and comparatively level ground is extended on both sides of the river. The verdure is of the richest description; the mountains, bold and elevated, surround the outskirts of the landscape, and the noble river, 300 yards in width, sweeps round the angle of the bank on which the town is built, with a rapidity that would evince its eagerness for the notoriety it has so long deserved, but has hitherto failed to attain.

I had intended to call upon the Rajah the next day, but he sent to inform me that he would pay me the first visit, so I waited at home. Towards evening, however, he sent an elephant for me, saying, that he had forgotten to call; an excuse which was repeated without being believed, and accompanied by such a pressing invitation, that I waved all ceremony, and mounted the elephant. The Rajah, a good-looking young man, with a fair complexion, and of middling stature, was sitting outside his palace, a low, but spacious, flat-roofed, white building, on a green parade-

* Bilaspur, the City of Delight.

ground (or *Mydan**), close to the river, and below the town. I found him what I had heard him described to be, young, uncouth, and unlettered, sitting between two sycophant Bengalee servants, who talked very bad English to me, and professed to teach him the best; both looking very foolish, and hoping that I was not angry with their master for having so bad a memory; whilst he himself seemed to have shifted the task of conversation entirely to them, and sat through the whole interview without saying more than three or four words.

Rulers who are habitually inattentive to the complaints of their subjects, will sometimes rouse themselves, and suddenly commit some act of unnecessary severity, that would appear to be intended as the infliction of justice, *en masse*, and not merely as a punishment for the delinquency of the moment;—and the Bilaspur Rajah is one of this class. He has always shewn himself to be a ruffian; and his cruelty, which he has mistaken for justice, and tyranny, which he has thought necessary for the preservation of his authority, have long attracted attention, and called down the most serious reproof from the British political agents. I have heard stories of his trampling offenders to death under the feet of his favourite elephant; and his extraordinary carelessness, aided by the merciless extortion and rapacity of the menials in his train, has forced a large portion of his subjects to quit Bilaspur,

* The word *mydan*, I may here remark, is used throughout the East, from Constantinople to the Chinese frontier, to designate the open space of ground which is found near every town, and answers to the green or common of an English village. A flat country is also called "mydan."

and seek a home and safety elsewhere. When I recrossed the river in March 1839, I found that there were not more than a few hundred inhabited houses in the town, and that the bazaar was comparatively deserted. His two uncles had lately raised a rebellion against him, and a fight had ensued on the parade-ground. The Rajah was victorious, and sat himself down to receive the heads of the fallen rebels; and whenever he saw one being borne towards him, he began most anxiously to inquire whether it was not at last the head of one of his uncles, and was much disappointed when the gory features grinned a negative. I saw ten heads, the fruits of his victory, suspended in different parts of a moderately sized tree, at the entrance of the town.

Such, at the same time, was the inattention paid to his orders (for I believe he did give the necessary orders), and such was the want of common courtesy I experienced upon making repeated applications for the assistance which I had every right and reason to expect from him, that I was at last obliged to go down to the palace myself, and walking into his durbar without ceremony, I rated him soundly to his face, for his insolent inattention to an English sahib, giving him no time to reply. Just as I turned on my heel, he raised himself from the couch on which he was smoking, and coolly remarked to his astonished courtiers, that I certainly must be uncommonly angry. In less than an hour, however, I had every thing I wanted; and myself, my servants, horses, and baggage, were fairly, as I wished to be, *en route;* and a confidential servant of the Rajah was in attendance upon me, who had evidently received orders to try

to exculpate his master, and lay the blame upon others; in which he partly succeeded.

Mr. Forster, who went through Bilaspur in his journey to Kashmir in 1783, says that the then Rani was assisting the Mahometan chief in possession of Kangra, against, I suppose, Sinsar Chund of Tira, with a force of 8000 irregular infantry and 800 cavalry; but the present Rajah could hardly, I imagine, muster above a tenth of that number.

It should be remarked, that the prosperity of Bilaspur has been declining since it ceased to be a thoroughfare. Anarchy and confusion preceded the establishment of the Sikh power under Runjit Singh; and, previously to the introduction of the British authorities in these countries, the only safe road for travelling merchants from Hindustan to Kashmir, and the countries north of the Panjab, was through Bilaspur, whither they arrived by entering the hills at Nahun, and passing westward through Subathu, and under the heights of Malaun. Kylur is the name of the country of which Bilaspur is the capital. There is also a town of the same name opposite Anandpur, already mentioned.

The Sutlej, and, in fact, all the rivers of the Panjab, are crossed upon inflated buffalo and sheep skins. The mouth is sewn up, and the legs made air-tight below the knee and hock joints. The figure of the animal is somewhat preserved, and much resembles that of a bear; so much so that a dog not used to them will growl, and shew signs of distrust. It is curious to see a man walking away with what appears to be an animal at his back that is three or four times his own weight and bulk. The Sikhs are Hindus.

A native, who would expect to be drowned if he were to apply a cow-skin to such a purpose, will lay himself on this sufficient but unsteady support, and fearlessly launching into a torrent, at a proper distance above the place where he wishes to land, will commence using his feet as paddles; and steering himself by a small one of wood which he holds in his hand, will thus reach his point of destination in safety. When several Sikhs are about to cross at the same time and place, they will frequently fasten three or four skins into one mass, and lie on them in smooth water like so many seals on a rock, presenting at a distance the most singular appearance possible. The inflated hides always float with the shortened legs uppermost, and amongst these, when they approach the rapid, the living arms and legs commence splashing in the water, and moving with great rapidity; so that fancy would imagine the mass to be a drowning Briareus, or a fragment of their own god, Seva. I was once talking with a facetious friend on this method of crossing a river, and heard him indistinctly muttering something about their playing a game at "hide and Sikh!" in the water!

My pathway now lay in the direction of Núrpúr,* at the edge of the plains on the regular highroad from Lodiana to Kashmir; and perhaps my readers may wish to become acquainted with the manner of travelling in these countries. In the first place, having obtained the necessary permission, I was furnished with a guard of eight or ten Sikh sepahis, more or less under the command of a *havildar*, or

* Núrpúr, the city of light.

native licutenant. Runjit Singh sent me one of the palace servants, bearing a silver stick resembling a beadle's mace; and upon all occasions there was usually with me some confidential servant of the chief through whose territories I happened to be passing, who carried with him written orders (*perwanus*) addressed to the authorities of the different towns and villages, commanding them to provide myself, my servants, and horses, with quarters and provisions for the night; and holding them responsible for the safety of all that belonged to me.

Upon my arrival at the largest towns, the mayor would sometimes present me with a bag of 50 or 100 or more rupees, which I took or refused according to circumstances; and when taken it was expected that I should in return make handsome presents to the guard and other persons who had made themselves useful. It is advisable to lay in a stock of knives, shot-belts, powder-horns, &c. to be given away (but not so commonly as to make distinction of no use) to inferior officers; and some articles of greater value, such as pistols, telescopes, &c. should be procured, and presented to any chief or man of rank, as occasion may require. Portraits of distinguished persons, and more particularly females, are useful for occasional exhibition; coloured prints of our race-horses, hounds, &c. are much admired; and portable machinery for chemical experiments is always of service, if it be only for the purpose of astonishing.

It was the duty of the said silver stick to send forward a messenger to the next station, with orders to prepare a room for his master's guest; and, upon my arrival at the ground, a sheep and fowls, if pro-

curable, were usually killed; rice and flour were served out to my servants; and hay, fresh grass, and barley were ready for my horse. So that although I could not admit, as Sancho Panza did to his wife, that "having been threshed and blanketed, I knew by experience, that for one out of a hundred adventures in which I was engaged, ninety-nine were generally cross and unfortunate;" still I could not but help remarking upon some occasions, as he did, that "it is a curious pastime to be always in expectation of adventures,—crossing huge mountains, searching woods, climbing rocks, visiting castles, living at rack and manger, and the devil a farthing to pay."*

They do not use oats in the East; and I do not remember to have seen any growing. The few stalks which are sometimes found amongst the wheat, are known in India by the appellation of wheat that has run mad. A species of vetch called *gram*, forms, as is well known, the principal food for horses in condition; and in India sheep are fattened upon it. In the plain my baggage was carried upon camels; at the foot of the hills it was sometimes laid upon mules or ponies; but generally, in the mountains, and wherever the path was at all difficult, it was confided to nothing but kulis, or baggage-porters (who are in the habit of bearing burdens), and who, although sometimes pressed into the service, seemed usually to be contented to have earned their dinner and a small reward for their day's work. I marched with two small tents, one for myself and the other for my servants; and, excepting in very cold situations,

* "Don Quixote," Part I. book iv. chap. 19.

it is the best place to sleep in, on account of the avoidance of vermin. The best kind of packing boxes are the tin pataras, or boxes made in Calcutta; they being, of course, waterproof.

In a new country I would advise every one to breakfast before starting in the morning, because it is impossible to say what attractions may spring up and detain you in the course of the day; and by this means also your cooking utensils arrive at the station in useful time. But in a country which you have before traversed, it is probably better to halt and breakfast near some spring by the path side. When the tents and baggage were fairly started, I was accustomed to take my own time, and went by the same path or not, just as was convenient. I was accompanied by my munshi, the most active of my servants, by an intelligent peasant, one or two sepahis, and my groom or sais, who would lead my horse where the path would not admit of my riding. The sepahis were a protection against impertinent intrusion, and were also useful in procuring a guide or any assistance that might be necessary. The peasant was at once a guide and a porter, and led the way merrily with a light chair (the indispensable accompaniment of dignity) upon his head, in the seat of which was fastened my sketching utensils, my thermometer and sextant, and the apparatus for making tea, &c. I would strongly recommend a small patent spirit-lamp or etna, to be covered with a leathern case, and strapped on man or horse, like a telescope: by this means a cup of tea or coffee is procurable in five minutes. My munshi was my interpreter, and my other servant carried my thermometer. A plant-book was folded in a cloth

behind his back, a hammer for geological purposes was stuck into his belt, and a telescope was strung across his shoulder; and when it was so hot that I was obliged to carry an umbrella, I used to hand over my gun to his keeping also. It was his business also to kindle a fire, and make tea for me; beat with me occasionally for game; and make himself generally useful.

One great advantage in breakfasting before starting was, that I was enabled to halt in the middle of the day; and, after refreshing myself with some tea, could write, read, or sketch for a couple of hours. Meanwhile my servants, after having prepared my tea, would take a comfortable siesta, or sit round in groups, and smoke their kaliuns, and gossip away the time, or perform their ablutions; whilst the Sikh Sepahis in attendance would vary their amusement by inspecting each other's muskets, and take an infinite interest in repeatedly letting off the hammer, in order to see whose flint contained the most fire. By this method of dividing the day I was usually sure of finding dinner ready when I arrived at the station for the night; but it constantly happened, that all calculations about time and place were deranged by the most unforeseen events; and a sick man, a lame horse, an accident of any kind, a snow or rain storm, or a swollen torrent, would be productive of the most annoying consequences.

A traveller in the East must make up his mind to be cheated, and that not a little. He will keep his temper and his health the better for so doing; and he should allow at least twenty-five per cent for being cheated, when he is calculating his expenses. No-

thing annoys an Englishman so much as not to be trusted; he is ready to knock a man down for asking him beforehand for money to buy the materials of which any thing he orders is to be made. But this is almost invariably the case, not from distrust, but from custom; and the *employé* chuckles because he knows that no one else can make what you want. Morier says that Inshallah! Barikallah! and Mashallah!* if judiciously used, are sufficient to carry a man through Persia. "D—n your eyes," ("Túm Kiswasti,") "why did you"— accompanied with a knock-down blow, is said to be the corresponding exclamation in India, when, for instance, a new importation discovers, for the first time, that his servants have been cheating him, and finds, when he wishes to rate them, that he is unable to utter another word of Hindustani.

A traveller in the mountains should never be without a warm flannel jacket, to be slipped on after a soaking, and water-proof coverings of some kind for his bed: his sheets should be made like a bag, with a running string at top, by which he will keep out vermin; and he should also remember to take with him some gauze, which occupies but little room, and will save him from mosquitoes at night and flies by day, and will also, when used as a veil, be the best protection he can throw over his eyes in crossing a snowy pass; although I would also advise him to furnish himself with a pair of grey or green spectacles.

I have eaten of many kinds of diet, and am persuaded that, excepting when taking great exercise in a very cold situation, it is not advisable to eat of

* Inshallah! please God; Barikallah! is equivalent to Bravo! bravo! and Mashallah! is used to express wonder and astonishment.

meat twice a day; that the best breakfast in a hot climate is of suji, or the heart of wheat beaten up with an egg or two, if procurable, but with little or no milk. This dish may be varied by another, which is commonly called *dal bhât*,—to which a fluid, peas-pudding, curried and mixed with boiled rice, would bear some affinity. A little of this, if well made, is particularly wholesome in a hot climate. Black tea is the best beverage, but coffee should be sparingly used in the plains. The doctors in India say, that more than a glass or two of beer in the day is considered to be hurtful, and mixtures of wine with beer should also be cautiously avoided. Meat, three times a day, and a quantity of beer, both at luncheon and dinner-time, and even at breakfast, is sometimes the diet of a young officer in India, who wonders that his liver is disordered, while his years are as yet so few. Moselle, being (so it is said by authority) more free from acid than other wines, should be drunk in India. As to dinner, of course, the plainer the better, and I attach the greatest value, when health is under consideration, to a perseverance in a course of gymnastics; but exertion should not be increased to violence.

The native exercises with the Múgdas, or wrestlers' clubs, and a few harlequinades, and such as are taught in the fencing and gymnastic schools, should never be neglected under any circumstances, when condition is required; but care should be taken not to use them too much in hot weather; and horse exercise, as well as that by gymnastics, and the cold baths also, should be taken, as is usually the case, at a very early hour in the morning. A shooting-jacket I have always found, on account of the numerous pockets, to be the best

travelling dress, and in one corner of these I always carried a pair of warm socks and slippers, which I put on whenever I arrived at the ground before any of the baggage was come up. An umbrella, with which it is absolutely necessary to ride in the heat, is apt to be a very troublesome companion, because, if broken, it cannot be replaced, or well repaired. I would recommend any one about to travel in the East to carry with him from Europe one or two skeleton umbrellas; and there are times when he will not regret having taken my advice, although he might smile at it in England. Those sold in India are often rotten, and soon become useless.

Orientals are in the habit of sleeping with the covering drawn over their faces, and I have often wished that I could do the same. Were a traveller, going to the East, to accustom himself to do so, he would obtain comfortable sleep, at times when he would otherwise be driven to desperation and illness, as already remarked, by flies and mosquitoes; and it is not too much to say, that his life might be preserved by it, in consequence of the freedom from irritation and increase of fever. Two or three drops of camphorated spirits (made with the common spirits of the country, if alcohol cannot be procured,) dropped upon the brush, to be then passed over the teeth after it has been used, as usual, morning and evening, will effectually preserve them from the effects of heat, cold, or illness, and prevent all pains, aches, and decay.

It is probable, that the story of the only companions who ever travelled without quarrelling at all, is to be found in the Apocrypha,—

> "Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deigned
> To travel with Tobias."—*Par. Lost*, B. V. v. 222.

Nine-tenths of the ill-natured things that are said in this world, are uttered only for fear a man should lose the credit of being able to say them; and I think that, when two persons are going to travel together, they should agree beforehand to give each other credit for the fullest discernment of reasons, the most complete capability for giving advice, and the most practised powers of retort and repartee upon all occasions; and in this manner I think an agreeable and gentlemanly equilibrium of temper may be always preserved.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER III.

Bilaspur to Nadaun—Beautiful Country—Distant View of the Himalaya—Mundi—Singular Mode of Crossing Rivers—Mountain Streams—Floating Island—A Young Rajah—The Rajputs—The Rajah's Palace—An Eastern Garden—The Bazaar—Hindu Temples—Dinner with a Rajah—A Hindu Raphael—Widow Burning—The Funeral Pile—Remonstrance—Reply of the Rajah—Origin of the Ceremony—Runjit Singh's Widows—True Meaning of the Word Sati—Hindu Code of Religion—Declaration of a Sati—Scripture *versus* Tradition—Antiquity of Hinduism—A Mahometan Roasted Alive—Fanaticism—Narcotics—Their Use by the Victims—Maritcide—Policy of Non-interference—Origin of British Power in India—Hinduism in Danger—Second Marriage of a Hindu Widow.

CHAPTER III.

I performed the distance from Bilaspur to Nadaun in a week, averaging about seven or eight *kos* in a morning. The *kos* varies very much in different parts of the country. Akber's *kos* towers, near Agra, are, I believe, about two miles distant from each other; but in the hills the *kos* is shorter, and in Kashmir, again, it is about a mile and three quarters. My path led me through a beautiful, open, and undulating country, containing numerous villages, and around them were spots of cultivated land, that time and industry have rescued from the jungle of firs (the pinus longifolia) with which the more rugged eminences of the sandstone ridges were generally covered; and on my right, visible excepting from the dell or the ravine, and extended till they were lost in the horizon, both before and behind me, rose the glorious and snowy summits of the great Himalaya chain.

But, nevertheless, intending as I do to conduct my readers from one state to another throughout the Alpine Panjab, until my arrival at Kashmir, I will first take them to Sukyt and Mundi,* which lie upon

* Mundi signifies a market.

the right bank of the Sutlej, and are traversed by the most southerly portion of its mountain stream.

By following up the left bank of the river, through villages and corn-fields, from Bilaspur as far as the ferry opposite Dyur (a small village with a castle on an eminence overhanging the river), and crossing at that place, I arrived at Mundi in three days. Dyur, lying in an open amphitheatre of low hills, that conceal those of higher elevation, has nothing particularly picturesque about it; and the Sutlej, which has just left the mountains in the neighbourhood of Simla, washes the walls of the cliff on which the castle is elevated, in a smooth but quick stream, not exceeding two hundred yards in breadth.

On the 10th of March, 1839, I, with my servants and baggage, was floated on buffalo hides, and landed safely and most satisfactorily, within the British territory, under a lofty bank of alluvial shingle, a little above the village, after a second and wandering absence of three years on the western side of its boundary river.

The country of the Sukyt Rajah commences at the ferry, and the town of the same name, only a few miles distant, is situated at the southern end of the valley known by the name of Sukyt-Mundi. The principal stream by which its surface is watered rises above Sukyt, and flows northward towards Mundi, where it joins the Beyas. Sukyt-Mundi is eight or ten miles in length, and three or four in breadth, richly cultivated, and containing numerous villages; and on each of the picturesque hills around are numerous forts, and perhaps no country of equal extent

could boast of so many strongholds, or what appear to be such. In the centre of the valley the Sukyt stream is joined by another from the Rawala Sar,* or small lake, at some distance on the mountains.

There is, as is related by Lieut. Burnes, a story of a floating island, which comes and goes at command; but, after due inquiry, I did not think it worth visiting, its chief celebrity being derived from the veneration in which it is held by the Hindus.

For two or three miles before reaching the town of Mundi, the pathway, which follows up the stream, lies through a quiet, well-wooded glen, such as may be seen in any of the hilly districts of England, and the blue slated roofs of Mundi,—whither I was conducted on an elephant the next morning by the Rajah, who came to meet me,—appear at the further end of it.

Bulbyr Seyn, the then (1839) Rajah, was a young man, apparently not more than two or three-and-twenty; he had enjoyed his rank but two months when I entered his country. His father and his uncle both died without legitimate children, and for four years before his death the latter had made over the government to young Bulbyr Seyn, to the exclusion of his uncle, who retired to Hindustan in disgust. The young Rajah himself was short, stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured, and remarkably European-like countenance. He was uncommonly civil, and prodigal of his expressions of regard and friendship for the English, and, unlike many other Rajahs, he allowed me to depart when I wished, without pressing me to

* Sar is a lake or morass.

stay a day longer than suited my convenience. His family are Rajpúts.

The Rajpúts of the mountain states are known and distinguished by an appellation which has reference to their state, or the name of the founder of their family. Those of Mundi are called Mundial; the Chumyal of Chumba take their name from a distinguished Rajpút; the Jumial are the Rajpúts of Jumu; the Rajpúts of the Bilaspúr family are called Kylúri; those of Tira are denominated the Kutaj; and the Kulu, or the family of Sultanpur, are called Kulu Rajpúts, from the name of the country. The Mundi Rajahs always bear the surname of Seyn; those of Tira bear the name of Chund, or the Moon; and the Chumba and Jumu Rajahs are always Singhs, or Lions.

The palace at Mundi is a long, barrack-like, but not unpicturesque building, with whitened walls, gable ends, and slated roofs. Before it is a large oak, and on the west of it is a garden, in which the Rajah had pitched a tent for me. The walks, as is the case generally in the East, were straight, and raised above the surface of the borders, so that they could not be injured by the system of irrigation which is universally practised. The borders themselves were covered with but one mass of orange, shaddock, and citron-trees, which were loaded with a profusion of fruit.

The bazaar is large, and well stocked, for so insignificant a place. A large proportion of the town is on the opposite side of the Beyas, and accessible by a large ferry-boat. That river passes the town from east to west, and immediately turns due north, and continues in the same direction for about four miles;

which is singular, considering how near it is to its debouchure on the plains. It is very deep at Mundi, and flights of steps, or ghâts, Hindu images, and a large figure of the monkey-god, Hunimán, have been sculptured on the rock by the river side; and Thakur Dewarus,* or Hindu temples, are conspicuous in different places of the town.

I partook of the Rajah's hospitality in a part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco, on a snow-white wall. The dinner he gave me consisted of the usual Eastern delicacies—rice, curries, sweetmeats, and sherbets; and I afterwards received the customary kilaat, or dress of honour, which said kilaat is generally made up of a Kashmir shawl or two, of little value, pieces of the kimkab, or brocade of Benares, and several pieces of different stuffs, usually the produce of Kashmir, or peculiar to the country of the donor.

I derived some amusement from an inspection of the new paintings on the walls, and of these one in particular attracted my attention, as it was a specimen of the not unusual attempts of a Hindu Raphael to embody his ideas of Heaven. In the centre of the celestial city, of mixed Hindu and Saracenic architecture, was a court-yard, surrounded by a plain octagonal wall; its circumference, such was the perspective, could not have exceeded one hundred yards. Within the court was a building, or vestibule, in which Kali, or Parbuti, sat (having nothing better to do in Heaven) smoking a hooker, by way of whiling away eternity; and around her were four female at-

* Thakur Dewarus, Houses of the Lord.

tendants, whose chief occupation seemed to be that of fanning their mistress. In front of the vestibule was Siva, her husband, the four-armed, performing a *pas seul.* Three of his arms were brandished with the grace of a castanet player, and in the fourth hand he bore aloft a miniature image of his bull Nandi. On either side, as spectators, were arranged all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, and evidently disposed to venerate and applaud the performance of their divine master. On the outside were ranged the buildings of the city, and around them again arose the peaks of Kylas (Heaven), amongst which, and near the narrow gateway of the court-yard, were several fakirs and ascetics, who were patiently waiting until death enabled them to enter it.

One morning my munshi came to me, and told me that a Sati (Suttee), or widow, who was going to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was about to pass by the garden gate. I hastened to obtain a sight of her. She was dressed in her gayest attire; a large crowd of persons followed her, as she walked forward with a hurried and faltering step, like that of a person about to faint. A brahmin supported her on either side, and these, as well as many around, were calling loudly and almost fiercely upon the different Hindu deities; and the name which was most repeatedly and most earnestly called upon was that of Jaganath; but I do not know whether they alluded to the great idol of Bengal, or to some local divinity. *Jugu* signifies a place, and *nath* is a Sanscrit word for lord, or master, applied to Vishnu, or Krishna. Her countenance had assumed a sickly and ghastly appearance, which was partly owing to internal agitation;

and partly, so I was informed, to the effects of opium, and bang,* and other narcotics, with which she had been previously drugged, in order to render her less awake to the misery of her situation. She was not, however, so insensible to what was passing as to be inattentive to two persons in particular, amongst several others who were stooping before her, and were evidently imploring her blessing:—they were probably near relations. She was presented at intervals with a plate of moist red colour, in which saffron was no doubt an ingredient, and into this she dipped the ends of her fingers, and then impressed them on the shoulders of the persons who stooped before her in order to be thus marked.

In about half an hour the preparations were completed. She was regularly thatched in, upon the top of the pile, whilst her husband's body yet lay outside. It was finally lifted up to her; the head, as usual, and which is the most interesting part of the ceremony, was received upon her lap; the fire was applied in different parts; and all was so quickly enveloped in a shroud of mingled flame and smoke, that I believe her sufferings to have been of very short duration, as she must almost immediately have been suffocated.

At Lahore I once, taking a Sepahi with me, threaded my way up to the pile, and offered the unhappy victim a sum of money if she would not burn. I should perhaps rather say that I mentioned it to the bystanders; for I am not certain that she was told of it, or that she would quite have comprehended my meaning. She was the widow of one of

* Bang is a preparation from the outer bark of hemp.

the last of the rightful family of the Jumu Rajahs, who had been dispossessed of their country and possessions by its present Rajah, Gulab Singh.*

In this present instance I sent to the Rajah, requesting his interference. He returned me a very civil message, to the purport that he was very sorry for it, but could not interfere, and called upon me shortly afterwards, but not until it was too late. I represented to him that there was nothing he could do which would be so likely to secure to himself the good wishes and considerations of the British community in India, for which he was so anxious, as the suppression of such horrible ceremonies as that which had just taken place. He assured me that it would be impossible to stop them, and that every entreaty was always used to persuade the woman not to burn herself; that presents to a large amount were always offered with the same intention, but were never of any use. It is, I believe, usual to do so, but it has no effect,—at Mundi at least, but that of enhancing the merit of the Sati, who generally turns a deaf ear to all promises and expostulations. The woman became a Sati when she crossed the threshold of her door, and would, most probably (so I was told), have been put to death by her relations had she afterwards retreated. So long as she remained in the house she had the power of refusal; but had she, being the wife of a Rajput, persevered in her determination not to be burnt with her husband, she would have lost her caste, have lived, at least in Mundi, despised and miserable, and would not have been permitted to marry again.

* Gulab, a rose; and Singh, a lion.

The Rajah also told me that the omission of the ceremony would be looked upon as an act of disrespect to the memory of a deceased Rajah; and of the truth of this assertion, there could be no doubt. I had seen the tombs of the Rajahs of Mundi by the road-side, a few hundred yards from the entrance to the town: the place of their ashes is marked by a long narrow stone slab, standing upright in the ground, and on each of them is sculptured, in relief, a small sitting figure of the deceased, attended by other figures in the same attitude, purporting to represent the Satis who were burnt with him. The number of female figures varied, but none of the later Rajahs had fewer than twenty disposed in regular order in rows, above and below him. The late Rajah had been dead but three months, and the puppet representations of no less than twenty-five women, who had been burnt with him, were evidently freshly produced by the rude chisel of the Mundi sculptor.

I was a little startled by the reflection that these horrors had been perpetrated within a few miles of the Sutlej, and the powerful restraint of the British authorities; but an accusation of improper interference would have followed, upon any thing like a remonstrance, when emanating from such a quarter. The husband dies to-day, and the wives are burnt with him before the sunset of to-morrow: but, had it been known what was going to take place, persuasion would, no doubt, have been tried, and not, perhaps, without effect, as far as the number of lives were concerned. The Rajah would have been too anxious to pay a deference to the wishes of a British political agent, and I am much mistaken if he were not, in

future, to evince a disposition to do so. Seven women only were burned with the body of Runjit Singh; a very small number, considering his rank: but it was no doubt deemed expedient to shew some respect to European prejudices. Had Runjit lived and died some fifty years ago, independent of his too powerful neighbours, it is probable that a very much larger number would have been allowed to deprive themselves of existence, in the hope of becoming his companions in the place of the blessed.

The meaning of the word "Sati" is a true and chaste wife; and the widow, not the rite, is the Sati, or Suttee, as it was formerly spelt.

Perhaps, considering its solemnity, the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this ceremony is the almost hopeless obscurity of its origin, which rests upon an isolated and often-repeated fable.*

* Daksha, or Brahma (one of their gods, supposed by Mr. Wilford to be Abel, as he was afterwards killed by his brother Iswara, Siva, or Mahadeo) had no son, but many daughters, by his wife Sridevi (goddess of the sun), of whom the chief was Sati or Sita, who was married to Mahadeo (Siva), her uncle. Daksha made a great sacrifice, in order to obtain a son, to which both gods and men were invited, except Mahadeo, who viewed the neglect with indifference; but Sati persisted in her determination to go there, although uninvited; and being treated contemptuously by her father, was so angry, that she threw herself into the fire, and thereby spoiled the sacrifice: for which dutiful attention Mahadeo does not seem to have been grateful, as he cursed her and doomed her to a transmigration of a thousand years, &c. The Hindu women burn themselves in imitation of her example.

The Sankalpa, or declaration of the Sati, is as follows:—

"Having first bathed, the widow, dressed in new and clean garments, and holding some Kusa grass, sips water from the palm of her hand; bearing in her hands kusa and tila, she looks towards

The arguments used by different authorities in favour of, or against, the necessity of the sacrifice, are numerous and conflicting. Vyasu (remarks Colonel Tod in his "Rajasthan," vol. i. p. 634), the chronicler of the Yadus, is the great advocate for female sacrifices; for he, in the Mahabharat,* pronounces the expiation perfect. But Menu, in his Institutes, inculcates no such doctrine; and, although the state of widowhood he recommends might be deemed onerous by the fair sex of the West, it would be considered little hardship in the East. "Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is

the east or north, whilst the Brahmin utters the mystic word OM![1] Bowing to Narayan (Vishnu), she next declares, on this month (describing the time) I, (naming herself and family), that I may meet Arundhate, the wife of the Rishi Vasistha (an offspring of Brahma), and reside in Sverga (the heaven of Indra), that the years of my stay may be numerous as the hairs on the human body; that I may enjoy with my husband the felicity of heaven, and sanctify my paternal and maternal progenitors, and the ancestry of my husband's family; that, lauded by the Upsararas, I may be happy through the regions of fourteen Indras (firmaments); that expiation may be made for my husband's offences, whether he have killed a Brahmin, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend;—I ascend my husband's funeral pile.—I call on you, ye guardians of the eight regions of the world, sun and moon, air, fire, æther, earth, and water, my own soul! Yama (the Minos of the Hindus), day, night, and twilight, I call you to witness, I follow my husband's corpse to the funeral pile."—*Colebrook, on the Duties of a Faithful Widow.—Asiatic Rev.*

* "The Great War," a poem.—*Vide supra.*

---

[1] OM, or A. U. M, is a mystical combination, forming a title common to Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. *Vide supra* page.

deceased, ever pronounce the name of another man." And again he says, "A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity; but the widow who slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."

In the absence, therefore, of undisputed injunction, we must look to other causes for the continued existence of what is, perhaps, the most remarkable of all the religious customs on record; and one which proves how far a deep sense of family honour and conjugal devotion is capable of carrying even the weaker sex, when influenced by the pride of caste and the hope of a posthumous reward.

Upon the natural and well-founded belief in an after life, which has in all ages been made use of by the artful and designing for their own purposes, the Brahmins have engrafted the doctrines of the metempsychosis, and a graduated scale of rewards and punishments, purporting to be a complete and unerring system of retributive justice. In addition to the faith in the expiatory nature of the rite, a firm belief in her regeneration, and that in performing it she is making atonement for the sins of her husband, there is a mystery in the doctrine of involuntary sacrifice of which the founders of the Brahminical religion have well known how to avail themselves, and which, though imperfectly comprehended, has been often proved by historical facts to have encouraged the self devoted with super-human powers of endurance, and to have imparted a sanctifying character to the action itself.

Who those founders were, a glance at the Code is sufficient to convince us. The killing a cow or a woman are numbered amongst the sins of the second degree, the former being the worst of the two; whilst the greater onus of guilt incurred by the murderer of a Brahmin has been confirmed by the belief of ages from time immemorial. Killing a Brahmin, as is well known, is the first crime in the catalogue, and one which will ensure the perpetrator a transmigration into the body of a hog, a dog, a deer, or a camel, and lastly that of a sickly man, and afterwards a second death by a violent distemper. The only way to avoid this, says the Ayin Akberi,* is to tear off his flesh by degrees, and throw it into the fire; to quit his family for twelve years and beg with a human skull in his hand, confessing his wickedness at every door,—this is provided he did it by accident; but if the murder be wilful, he must perform this penance for twenty-four years.

Abu Fuzl, it would appear, must have paid more attention to oral communication of the Brahmins respecting their traditions than to the precepts contained in their sacred writings. Mr. Elphinstone, in his "India," vol. i. p. 82, has justly remarked, when speaking of the injunctions in the Institutes of Menu, "What chiefly surprises us is to find most sorts of flesh permitted to the Brahmins, and even that of oxen particularly enjoined on solemn festivals. Brahmins must not indeed eat flesh unless at a sacrifice; but sacrifices, as has been seen, are amongst the daily sacraments, and rice-pudding, bread, and many

* "Ayin Akberi, or Memoirs of the Emperor Akber (the Great)," written by his minister, Abu-Fuzl (the Father of Excellence), the Sully of the East.

other things equally innocent, are included in the very same prohibition. The permission to eat beef is the more remarkable, as the cow seems to have been as holy in those days as she is now, and they are nowhere killed in India at the present day."* So much for tradition and priestcraft against ancient and scriptural precepts.

The religion of the Hindus is probably as old as any in the world, that of the Jews excepted; and we are now aware of two remarkable instances (self-immolation and the non-slaying of oxen), and both being of prominent and of sacramental importance, in which custom and tradition built up and nurtured by those spiritual teachers, from whom a people of equal intellect with ourselves had a right to expect the purest and most disinterested instruction, have prevailed over a continent in opposition to the positive injunctions and implied instruction contained in the most ancient and sacred oracles of its faith. Had their written scripture been read and followed, they would not have been thus deceived. The cause of humanity would have been vindicated in the one instance, and that of reason in the other; a confusion of the absurd and the horrible would have been avoided; the Hindu widows would not have been forced to burn, as they have been for the last two or three thousand years; and the eating of beef, which is now held in universal abhorrence by the Hindus, would have been allowed, in compliance with the injunction of Menu. It is no defence of the abstinence from oxen-slaying to say that the tradition, in this

* *Vide* Elphinstone's "India," vol. i. p. 82.

particular, is on the side of humanity: the question is whether it existed in obedience or non-obedience to the written law; and it is also well known that murders of the most horrible kind, such as that I have elsewhere* mentioned, of the unfortunate Mahometan who was roasted alive at Phesawur by the Sikhs, because he was detected in eating beef, have frequently been committed, and would now, if there were no restraint, be often committed in defence of this traditionary fanaticism.

Surely, without meaning to compare the merits of Christianity and the Hindu religion too closely, there is a something here which is not beneath the consideration of the Romanist, or of any man of education who thinks of becoming one. It should, I think, at least make him pause before he degradingly, and, as it were, by compulsion, commits his conscience for aye and ever into the keeping of a man perhaps no better than himself;—as if his God and his Saviour were not enough for him to confess to and cast his care upon; and afterwards subjects himself to a refusal of the sacramental cup, in direct variance with the plain and simple injunctions of scripture.

I am inclined to believe that the rite had its origin in some extraordinary instance of fanaticism, at first lauded, and then imitated, until its non-observance became an object for Brahminical anathemas,—assisted by the countenance, if not the positive commands, of men in power,—who, by having connived at the artifices of the priesthood, were enabled to secure to themselves the gratification of the tyrannical selfishness of

Vide "Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan," p. 246.

a Herod, without incurring the responsibility of his crime. Its footing and continuance as a custom were owing, I should imagine, to the above reasons: and it has lived to be nourished by prejudice, be dignified by antiquity, and be pointed out as the sacrament of conjugal duty and affections.

The heathen may point to his hecatombs; Christianity may be proud of the triumph of her martyrs, and the Roman of his penances and monastic institutions; the predestined sons of Islam may court death for the sake of their terri-celestial paradise, but there is nothing fearful in a faith which obtains its converts through the seductive visions of sensuality, whose prohibitions are seconded by climate, and whose injunctions, in most instances, are so eagerly obeyed; —but what religion can boast of such an influence over its votaries as that of the Hindu, whose Molochian institutions, independent of climate, and unaffected by the lapse of time, can hazard, without fear of apostasy, so horrible a command as the simultaneous adoption of the shroud and the bridal wreath, and to blend the thoughts of an untimely death with the most joyous moments of human existence.

A philosophical friend,* a Roman Catholic, has told me that he supposes the rite of Sati to belong to Brahminism, not originally as a necessary part of the public duty, but as a work of supererogation, and that this voluntary act of sacrifice was regarded as capable of diminishing the pains of a posthumous state of further probation.

Now, although I find no difficulty in admitting

* D. T. Forster, F.R.A.S.

that the Sati, if her cremation be purely spontaneous, is performing an act of supererogation, yet although, as I have before remarked, I think it may have arisen after one, or even a few, examples of extraordinary fanaticism. I cannot believe that the ceremony could ever become common, if at first it were only purely voluntary. On the contrary, I am disposed to think that it would not be easy to point out a single instance in which the unfortunate victim has advanced to the pile without having been first partly stupified with narcotics;* and, if so, the sacrifice cannot, strictly speaking, be considered as a work either of martyrdom or of supererogation. Again, the purgatorial doctrine must have been believed by men as well as women; in fact, the manner in which the fakirs of India have tortured themselves is too notorious for further remark; and yet we never hear of the husband burning himself alive on the funeral pile of the wife, in the belief that the time of his probation will be thereby curtailed.

I do not see any reason for supposing that the Hindu women were so much more wicked than the men, that they alone should imagine this last act of purgation to be necessary. Such a belief would seem to have given birth to the idea, that the performance of Sati was originally enjoined for the purpose of preventing the crime of mariticide, in consequence of its

* A higher authority than my own has expressed a contrary opinion. "I have heard that, in Guzerat, women about to burn are often stupified with opium. In most other parts this is certainly not the case."—ELPHINSTONE'S *India*, vol. i. p. 360.

At Mundi, the appearance of the Sati was such as to justify the information I received.

having been at one time common for Indian wives to murder their husbands by poison and other means.

A general imputation, to the Hindu women, of the crimes of Circe, Semiramis, and Clytemnestra, can only originate with those who are anxious to defend the priesthood from the charge of having instituted the cause of them. But those who give too ready credence to the tale of the Danaïdes should not forget the one beautiful exception in favour of the bride of Lynceus:—

> "Una de multis, face nuptiali
> Digna," &c.—Hor. Lib. iii. Ode 11.

which, resting upon equal authority, and greater congeniality with the best feelings of human nature, may claim consideration, as not being the least improbable part of the story.

If our positive dominion in the East may be attributed to the bayonet, or rather to the cannon, an arm in which the Hindustanis can never hope to compete with us, it is not too much to say, that our moral and negative hold upon their allegiance has hitherto had its surest origin in our non-interference with the superstitions of the natives and the institutions of caste. But I think that now we may be less scrupulous in regard to their abolition by legislative enactment. No evil consequences have followed upon the abolition of Sati by our authorities; but whilst the prejudices of caste are still in existence, the labour of the missionaries, however able and zealous, will secure to them but little real success, whatever appearances may be.

The British in India are looked upon as superior beings, by the generality of the natives, thousands of

whom, I believe, are impatient of the trammels and penalties of caste, and are anxious to imitate the religion and the manners of their conquerors. Time and opportunity should be essentially considered, before innovations should be made; and I must admit that the present season is not the right one. But when the government shall be enabled, by reason of a settled frontier, to direct its undivided attention to the removal of religious disabilities, I venture to think that interference need no longer be deferred, on the score of danger to itself. The following very sensible remarks on this subject are from a late Calcutta paper:—

"A rumour is now afloat that the government will pass a regulation, by which the sons of Hindus will inherit their ancestorial property, even if they are converted to any religion different from their own. Should this regulation be promulgated, the Hindu religion will at once be brought to an end. Such is the confession of some of the most intelligent and influential members of that religion, of the meeting of the Durma Subha, as reported in a previous column; and never before has it been our fortune to meet with such a powerful acknowledgment of the weakness and worthlessness of any creed. It is a confession, by its leaders, that Hinduism has no other bonds upon its professors than that of preserving interest; that so destitute is it of every hold upon the affections of the people—so devoid of command over the reason—so unsustained by present regard or future hope, that once let the people know that their pecuniary interests will not suffer by their conversion, and the Hindus will fly from that faith which they have alone been

induced to profess by the fear of worldly ruin. It is needless to waste our time and space in the endeavour to strengthen the force of such a confession, and we leave it at once to the consideration of every Hindu, with the hope that, after it, he will be ashamed to oppose the passing of a regulation abolishing a forfeiture which it is confessed only makes the people hypocrites,—professing a faith which they, in their hearts, know to be undeserving of either credit or attachment."*

* Since writing the above, I observe in another Calcutta paper that a Hindu widow has married one of her own caste; an event, I believe, before unheard of, and in direct opposition to the ideas of the Hindus upon the subject.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER IV.

Mundi to Ladak—Mr. Moorcroft and Dr. Gerard—Hindu Tradition—Iron Mines of Mundi—Salt Mines of Barung—The Hill of Alexander—Its Locality discussed—Route of Alexander in India—The Boundaries of the World—Tira—The Himalaya—Singular Position of Tira—Hockey on Horseback—An Ex-Rajah—Runjit Singh—A Hindu Breakfast—Singular Customs—Mr. Moorcroft's Travels—The Fool's Fortress—Extraordinary Defiles—Stronghold—The March of Alexander in India—The Aornos—The Kophenes—The Rivers crossed by Alexander—City rebuilt by Alexander—Arrian's Account—Rock of Iskardo—Embolima—Elephants—The Indus—Little Tibet—Nyssa—Discrepancies in the Ancient Historians—The Vuziri—Col. Foulkes—The Fort of the Stars—Nadaun—Sacred Spot—Singular Hindu Temple—Religious Sacrifice—Núrpúr—The Nawabs of Kangra—Lord Lake and Holkar—Runjit Singh and the Rajahs—Nose-making—The Soap-tree—Ancient Castle—Núrpúr, the Place of Light—An Ex-Rajah—Treachery of Runjit Singh—The various Passes into Kashmir—Periods of their being open—Chumba—The Shepherds' Mountains—A Marriage Procession—The Rajah of Chumba—*Incog.*—Form and Ceremony in the East—Mystification—Visit to the Rajah—Conversation by Proxy—Cherut Singh and his Brother—Sitting for your Portrait—Occupations of a Rajah—A Clever Vizir—A Rajah in Exile—Religious Temples at Chumba—A Hindu Tradition—The Sixteen Brothers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE path from Mundi to Ladak is frequented chiefly by those who live in the former province, or near it. A duty on merchandise is demanded at five different places,—Bilaspur, Sukyt, Mundi, Kulu, Chumba, and, finally, by the Sikhs at Ladak; and this, according to the information I received, was the principal reason for the disuse of this way.

Sultanpur, the capital of Kulu, is about thirty miles, in a straight line, above Mundi, but I did not visit it. I believe that it lies about fifteen miles within the higher ranges, and is a smaller place than Mundi. About a month is occupied by travellers in reaching Ladak by the route of Sultanpur, Burmar, and Lahoul, or Lawur, which was travelled by Mr. Moorcroft, and afterwards, partly I believe only, by Dr. Gerard.

The word Mundi signifies a market or trading station. The Rajah told me that the name of his capital was taken from that of a fakir, or holy man, an ancestor of his own. But, from the situation of the place, I should be more inclined to believe that it originally received its name with the usual meaning attached to it, than from any fabulous origin, and more especially as he and his family, being Rajputs, are Hindus of the highest caste but one (viz. the Brahmins). He told me that Guru Govind Singh, in the disguise of a fakir, arrived at Sultanpur, where

the Rajah, a pious Hindu, asked him to perform a miracle. The fakir immediately took hold of his own beard, and drew it out to a great length: but the Rajah shewed him a miracle in return, by breathing forth a flame which consumed the fakir's beard; and, by way of giving him a further proof of his superiority, he imprisoned the Guru in a cage; upon which the Guru caused himself, cage and all, to be carried through the air to Mundi, whose then chief treated him with the greatest kindness, and asked of him a decree that no stranger should ever invade his country. The Guru replied, that the Rajahs of Mundi would have to give tribute to the Sikhs, and that the Sikhs should never enter their capital. Such is the case at present. From some superstitious motives connected with this story, no servant of Runjit Singh, (so I was informed,) had ever been sent to Mundi. The receiver of the revenue is quartered outside the town, and the Maharajah's officer, in attendance upon me, did not enter it whilst I remained there.

The iron mines of Mundi are said to be very rich. They are to be reached by ascending, for about twenty miles, the banks of the Beyas. I did not visit them; but the Rajah procured specimens of the ore, and presented them to me. The greater proportion of them were of that kind of ore known by the name of glanz (sparkling) iron, and which is found abundantly, I am told, in the Isle of Elba. The matrix seemed to be of quartz.

The salt mines of Barung are about eight miles distant in a straight line, for three of which the path follows down the course of the river. I thought them well worth the visit. The salt is dug out from the

mural sides of a quarry, and also from mines of no great depth in the earth. It is contained in sandstone; and my specimens of the formation, as I am informed, bear a close resemblance to the salt sandstone at Dunglass in Scotland. The salt from the salt range on the Attok is so much purer as to prevent, I believe, any very large deportation of the article from Mundi; although the Mundi salt is to be found in the principal bazaars of the Panjab. The women employed in bringing the sandstone blocks of Mundi are distinguished by a peculiar dress, coloured with red, blue, and yellow; and their braided hair is gracefully twisted round, and fastened upon the top of the head; and the costume much resembles that of the women in some of the mountainous parts of Greece.

It should be here remarked, that the country which I am now traversing is part of that broad belt of hilly district which intervenes, with a varying width of twenty, forty, or fifty miles, between the plains of the Panjab and the higher ranges of the Himalaya; that about ten or twenty miles of this width, commencing from the actual plains, are of uplifted sandstone and shingly conglomerate; that the hills which are next in height and succession are usually of schist with primary rocks occasionally appearing upon a few peaks of extraordinary altitude; and that the snowy wall of the Himalaya is in sight from every eminence, forming a most magnificent boundary to the northward.

The Sikundur-ke-Dhar, or Hill of Alexander, is a long range, extending from within a few miles of Dyur to Bij Nath, a worshipping place at the foot of the Himalaya, dividing the comparatively flat country

88445

of Tira from that of Mundi, and forming the western boundary of the valley of Sukyt Mundi. I should suppose that its greatest height might be about 3000 feet above the sea. On that part of the ridge where it is crossed by the highway between Tira and Mundi, I suddenly found myself by the side of some ruins, surrounded by a trench cut in the solid rock, and adjoining to a large flat open space, which had evidently been levelled by the hand of man, on the summit of the ridge. The space surrounded by the trench was about 150 yards in length, and the whole platform, lying north-north-west by south-south-east, occupied an extent of about 700 yards, by a much narrower width. Mr. Moorcroft had previously visited the same spot, but did not think of it as I do. There is often some foundation for local tradition, and as my curiosity was awakened by the name of the ridge, there is nothing extraordinary in my being led to infer, from the aspect of the ruins and the trench, &c. that the place I trode was classic ground, and that the remains of Alexander's famous altars were around me.

The best authorities agree in supposing that the city of Sangala, to which Alexander marched after passing the Hydraotes, now the Ravi, at (probably) Lahore, lay to the south-east of that city. I have already supposed* that if he went thence directly towards the Hyphasis, or Sutlej, he would pass by the large village of Pak Putun,† where there is an immense mound, such as is formed in other places by the *débris* of old houses, but so much larger as to jus-

* Vide "Personal Narrative of a Visit to Kabul, Ghuzni, and Afghanistan," page 11.

† The Clean City.

tify the idea of its containing a nucleus of other ruins, and perhaps render it worthy of a closer inspection.

But Alexander was surely too anxious about his reputation to have built his altars upon the plains of the Panjab, where the rivers are constantly changing their courses, and washing away their banks; and I should think it far more likely that he would, after the refusal of his soldiers to proceed with him, have marched towards the mountains, in order to have the advantage of constructing them of stone, of which material, according to Quintus Curtius, they were actually formed.

We must, in accordance with this theory, place Sangala to the north-east, rather than the south-east, of Lahore; otherwise, had he marched from the south, along the banks of the Hyphasis, he must have passed the place of junction of the Beyas and the Sutlej at Huri-Ke-Putun; * and his historians make no mention of any river falling into the Hyphasis, or of any other beyond it, excepting the Ganges. I am happy to observe that Major Rennell has placed the altars, on the authority of Pliny, on the east side of the Beyas, and near the very spot where I imagine that I have seen them.†

The remains now visible scarcely rise above the ground, and, in one part, consist chiefly of the masses of masonry forming sides and partitions in a chambered building; but there is a great number of loose blocks scattered over the surface, inside the trench, and several mounds or eminences, that have evidently been formed by the decay of some elevated structure. The plat-

* The Green City, or City of Huri, a name of Vishnu and Siva.

† Vide the Map in Rennell's "Memoir on a Map of Hindustan."

form, artificially levelled, is an excellent place for the display of gymnastics and equestrian feats, though not large enough for horse-racing. The Rajah of Mundi assured me, that although the place had frequently been occupied as a fort, yet that there had been ruins upon it from time immemorial, and with these a fort might have been erected. It is in favour of my theory, that it is necessary to descend the hill for water, and therefore it must have been used for other purposes than those connected with a stronghold.

No place could possibly have been chosen which would have been better adapted for the altars. Being by the side of the highway, it became impossible for any one to pass without seeing them. To the westward it commands a most extensive view over the low slopes, plains, and eminences in the country, on the way to Tira; and to the eastward, after the eye has roved over the beautiful green valleys of the Mundi country, the view is bounded by the vast walls of the Himalaya chains — the Emodus and Himaus of the Macedonians — rising tier above tier, and mountain above mountain, with unsurpassed grandeur, and circling round the horizon, from north to south, with an Ultima-Thule-like aspect, that would fully have justified the exclamations of Alexander's soldiers, when asserting that they had arrived at the utmost boundaries of the habitable world.

I have only to remark, that, knowing for what object they were constructed, a better *locale* could not, in my humble judgment, have been selected for the purpose; and the opinions to be formed from the conjunction of place and probability, are negatively strengthened if not confirmed by the fact of the whole

course of the Sutlej being now too well known to admit — at least I think so — of the existence on its banks of any other ruins answering their description.

Tira may be reached in four days from Mundi, by the route I travelled through Kruhin. I shall further notice it when speaking of Kangra. It is the capital of a country larger than Mundi, but not, as I was informed, so rich. When viewed from the *ghát* or pass on the way to Nadaun, or from any other eminence on the south side of it, it appears in the middle of a landscape in which extent and sublimity are united in great perfection. It presents a succession of long swelling hills, sloping gradually on to the plain, or abruptly terminating in precipice, whose height is sometimes tufted with a clump of trees, sometimes made holy by the presence of an old Hindu temple, and often rendered conspicuous by the watch-tower on its summit. On the right is the serrated ridge of Kumla Gurh; in front are the forts, known as the Chumiani Durwasu, or gates, commanding a pass into the Mundi country, and seen like two white specks in the distance; a little to the left of them, but not distinguishable, is Bij Nath, already mentioned, at or near the source of the Kangri river; and on the left, again, is extended the open country of Palum. But the whole appears, comparatively speaking, as one flat, from which the gigantic walls of the Dola* Dhara, or white mountains, some twenty or thirty miles distant in direct lines, rise directly upward, to an elevation of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet, with a grandeur, perhaps, nowhere so little dimi-

* Dewala of the Nepalise.

nished by intervening ranges. But such scenes must be visited to be conceived, as the world, the old world, at least, can boast but one Himalaya: "A sight," says Mr. Elphinstone, "which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into enthusiasm, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be equalled or effaced." *

In the jungle between Nadaun and Tira, I noticed the Banian, the Pipul, the Mango, the Acacia, the Kutora, with its long broad pod, the Amultas,† a species of ash, the Himalaya oak, and the Pinus longifolia.

The killah or castle, and town of Tira is singularly situated, being built on an isolated flat-topped sandstone rock, several miles in circumference, and surrounded on every side,—excepting, I believe, towards the river Beyas, which flows beneath it,—by a precipice of eighty to a hundred feet in height. Although I had with me a servant of the Maharajah's, who was expressly commanded to attend upon me wherever I wished to go, yet, under pretence of its being necessary to shew a permission in which Tira was particularly specified, I was refused admission by the guard at the gates; and as I was considerably in advance of my baggage, and the evening was closing in, I retired back to the nearest village, where I slept, intending to again apply for permission on the next morning. Meanwhile an insolent message was sent, to the effect that I must not hope to be allowed to enter the gate at all, and that if I persisted in an attempt to do so, the commandant would be obliged to fire upon me, or use

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i. p. 343.

† Cassia fistula.

force to repel me. The Maharajah's man told me that his presence was of no use; and as I was then in fact on my way to Lodiana, in order to return to England, I did not think it worth while to wait for an answer from Lahore. I therefore left the place, well knowing that Rajah Gulab-Singh, or his brothers, were the instigators of the whole proceeding.

Shah Jehanpur,* which is, more correctly speaking, the name of the town of Tira, contains, as well as I could judge of its size, about twelve or fifteen hundred houses, and three or four thousand inhabitants. I was told, also, that it contained a *chaughan* or field, where the game of that name (hockey on horseback) was played, as I have seen it played in Tibet. It was much larger in the time of its famous Rajah, Sinsar Chund;† whose power in the mountains was for some time equivalent to that of Runjit in the plains, but was at length crushed by the successes of the Sikhs. He maintained a force, composed of seven or eight thousand mercenary soldiers, and about the same number of his own countrymen.

At a place called Kruhin, situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the ex-Rajah of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sinsar Chund. After his death, his son, Murut Chund, went to Lahore, where Runjit demanded his sister in marriage for his favourite and Minister, Dihan Singh. Murut Chund requested permission to go back and talk over the matter with his mother, who, it is said,

* The city of Shah Jehan, the king of the world.

† This is supposed to be the same name as Sandra Cottus of Alexander's historians.

was not averse to the match; but he himself being a Rajput of high caste, refused to give his sister to an upstart of no family, and sent her and his mother and family across the Sutlej for security, under the pretence that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar; and the Fakir Aziz-u-Dyn, who had been sent to Tira by Runjit, arrived there only to find that the bird had flown. Upon hearing the story, Runjit came himself to Jewala Muki, afterwards noticed, where Murut Chund, at an interview, was asked, three times, if he would give his sister to Dihan Singh. He replied that he would; and was allowed to depart. He proceeded to Tira, and immediately despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej; upon which Runjit sent a force to make him prisoner, but he escaped, and by the next day was safe in the Company's territories, where he joined his family at Hurdwar, and soon afterwards died there. His sons were invited back to the Panjab, and were living upon a jaghir (a grant of land) at Kruhin, where I saw them.

The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees (3000*l.*) a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah.

The elder of the two brothers, and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil, and gave me a breakfast on the morning of my departure. Being Hindus, they did not eat with me themselves, but a table was placed for me beside them, and they talked to me during the repast, which was served up in dishes, made of dock leaves, sewn together, and my

drinking cup was also of the same material. The Sikhs are less particular in these matters than the natives of Hindustan, and will eat twice, and oftener, out of the same plate, and many of the Sikh Surdars are in possession of European china; but the Hindu, more especially the Brahmin, or the Rajput, of which latter caste was the Tira Rajah, will not eat twice out of any vessel that cannot be cleaned with earth, and, consequently, they are eternally scouring their brazen cooking pots. When, therefore, they play the host, the Hindus (and the Sikhs, also, in many instances), cause their dishes to be made of dock leaves,* which are thrown away after they have been used, and the expense of purchasing new crockery is avoided. The comparative absence of superstitious ceremony on the part of the Sikhs would render them, as Sepahis, better adapted for actual service than the other natives of Hindustan.

The young ex-Rajah shewed me a friendly letter which his grandfather had received from Lord Lake, by the hands of an envoy whom he had despatched to wait upon his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Panjab, and also a *chit*, or writing, by Mr. Moorcroft, given to, and in favour of, Rajah Sinsar Chund, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attentions he had received from him. Mr. Moorcroft crossed the Sutlej at Bilaspur, whence he came straight to Sukyt, where the Rajah shewed him every attention. He remained there two or three days, and proceeded to Mundi, where the Rajah said that he could then not allow

* Butea frondosa.

him to pass without an order from Runjit; and Mr. Moorcroft remained outside the town for two months, and then, having written to head-quarters, repaired to Lahore, where he was under surveillance.

In a few days an answer arrived from Calcutta, accompanied by a letter from the Governor-General to the Maharajah, who immediately put Mr. M. into the hands of Sinsar-Chund, with orders to give him every assistance. Mr. M. remained sixteen days at Tira, and then Sinsar Chund gave him a number of kulis, or hill porters, to carry his baggage on the way to Ladak. From Tira he visited Bij Nath, and thence went to both the salt-mines. He remained fourteen days at Sultanpur, where the Rajah Ajyt Singh gave him an increased number of Kulis, who carried his effects to Lawur, or Lahoul, in seven days, whence he proceeded to Ladak with laden horses. He sent a letter to Ahmed Shah, of Little Tibet, to say that he wished to come to Iskardo. Ahmed Shah would have received him kindly; but for some reason, with which I am unacquainted, Mr. M. altered his intention of paying him a visit. Mr. M. afterwards came through the Duras Pass to Kashmir, and upon leaving the valley was obliged to return from the Baramula Pass, in consequence, as it was said, of the country being in a state of disturbance; but it is supposed that the obstruction was connived at, if not caused, by the Governor of Kashmir. He then passed over the Pir Panjal Pass, and proceeded *viâ* Attok to Kabul and Bokhara; in which country he and his companions died of fever, brought on I should think rather by chagrin and vexation than by climate; and not without suspicion of foul play. His travels have,

as is well known, been edited by Professor H. H. Wilson, and, as far as I can judge, the information they contain is singularly correct.

By the assistance of the ex-Rajah of Tira I was enabled to visit the celebrated fortress of Kumla Gurh—the fool's fortress,—so called, I suppose, from the supposed absurdity of attempting to take it. I first went to a village called Mundiar, about eight miles in a straight line from Kruhin, towards the mountains. The sandstone country on the western bank of the Beyas presents the appearance of a heavy swell at sea, driven before a gale of wind; and my munshi, who had seen the ocean at Bombay, made, of his own accord, a remark to the same effect. The ridges were elevated at an angle of about thirty degrees, with a long slope on the northern side, and a steep abutment towards the south. On the eastern bank of the Beyas the formation is somewhat different, and its aspect not less singular. Large and lofty rick-shaped hills, covered with long coarse grass, and divided by deep and narrow ravines, occupy the whole of the district; and my path towards Kumla Gurh wound amongst a confusion of gable-ended eminences, precipitous banks, and overhanging ledges, all of hard shingly conglomerate. When viewed at a distance from the westward, a water-line is clearly discernible upon the denuded summits that are seen in the direction of Kumla Gurh.

Near the village I obtained a good general view of the fort, built on a long line of sandstone peaks, lying about north and south, and extending between two and three miles. The principal stronghold is an isolated rock, with precipitous sides, rising

to the height of about 150 feet above the other peaks, 1500 feet above the level of the river Beyas, which washes its northern extremity, and somewhat less than 3000 feet above the level of the sea. The whole mountain, known by the name of Kumla Gurh, is nearly surrounded by two large and deep defiles, commencing at, and running right and left from, the foot of a detached hill, at the south end of the ridge, on which is a Hindu worshipping place, called Awur Devi,* and from which is obtained the best general view of the Kumla Gurh and the surrounding country, backed by the Himalaya wall. These defiles, excepting on the side of the river, form the boundary of an irregular oval mountain, whose greater axis is not less than seven or eight miles in length, whilst its width may be about five. The ravine on the eastern side of this wonderful natural fortress is called the Sona Khud,† because its stream is washed for gold; that on the westward is called the Barkhur Khud, which latter, in returning from Mundiar to Kruhin, I ascended to Awur Devi. The Barkhur Khud is in itself a most extraordinary place, and unlike any ravine that I had seen in the Himalaya. That of Tira resembled it in some respects, but is not nearly so large. In the winter it is watered by a stream, which, as well as that of the Sona Khud, joins the Beyas at the northern end of Kumla Gurh. I was shewn but one spring that never failed, in the Barkhur Khud, which I traversed for four or five miles, the whole way lying between two precipices,

* Awur Devi, the goddess of the fortress.

† Sona Khud, the ravine of gold.

about 80, or 100, or 150 feet in height; whilst the space between them, which was 80 or 100 yards in width, was one entire flat, and a very gentle ascent covered with rounded stones; smaller ravines of the same aspect branched off from it at intervals; and, in the nooks and crevices, and buttress-like banks, covered with coarse herbage, resting against the perpendicular, with a good sprinkling of jungul-trees, but much concealed by the luxurious festoons of the broad-leaved tawur. The defile itself is the boundary between the Tira and Mundi territories, and the inhabitants of both sides are very tenacious of their right of ground. Those of Kumla are particularly so; and, in fact, will not allow any person to ascend into their stronghold. Whilst I was gazing at the fort from the Tira bank, we saw the inhabitants of a village on the opposite side moving about in a state of some alarm, and distinctly heard them calling out to know who we were, and exhorting one another to keep a good look out, by crying out "Khabr-da" (take care) to each other in the distance. I passed some buffaloes; and a man most meanly clad was apparently in attendance upon them. I observed that he watched us narrowly, and found afterwards that he was the son of the chief man of the village, who had descended into the Khud in disguise, in order to have a look at me, and to find out what I wanted. The Kotwal, or chief magistrate of Kruhin, who was with me, soon quieted his alarm, and my munshi, in the true oriental style, proceeded formally to assure him that it was curiosity alone that had brought me to Kumla; that I travelled over the country like a flower moving upon the surface of the water; the

water felt not the weight of the flower, and the flower was not injured by the water; and that neither was the worse for the presence of the other. This was certainly placing me in a very *superficial* point of view; but the metaphor was pardonable, being neat and new, at least, to me.

In travelling in these countries my attention has, of course, been directed to the identification, amongst other places, of the celebrated rock of Aornos; but after having seen so much, and made every inquiry, I can only reluctantly come to the conclusion, that whatever conjectures (and they do not always content themselves with conjecture) may be hazarded by fireside travellers, we can determine nothing with certainty until the whole of the mountain country on the north of the Kabul river, and intervening between Kafferistan (inclusive) and the Indus, be thoroughly known, and it may be doubtful whether we can do so then; and that the utmost that can be done, even by those who have partially seen these countries, is the suggestion of probabilities founded upon a collation of their own experience with the received accounts. Of the derivation of this disputed word there can now be no doubt. Aornos was simply, as Professor Wilson has pointed out to me, the word Awur, signifying stockade, a stronghold or fortified place, with a Greek termination added to it. I need scarcely remark, that the word is in common use in the present day. Peshawur signifies the advanced fort or frontier stronghold; Rajawur that of the raj or kingdom; Bajawur—probably Bijawur—may be that of the temple of victory: and this explains at once why there should have been more than one Aornos mentioned by Alexander's

historians. May not the word oasis be found on the same root?

Jejune and unsatisfactory as is the account of Arrian, it appears to be considered on all hands as the best. He tells us that Alexander crossed the Kaucasus, and arrived at a city which he had caused to be built amongst the Parapamisus when he made his first expedition into Bactria. Then passing to Nicæa, he sacrificed to Minerva, and proceeded to the river Kophenes, which there is, as it appears to me, as to others, every reason to suppose is the river of Kabul.*

Arrived, therefore, on the banks of the Kophenes, he despatched Hephæstion and Perdiccas to the Peucelaotis, towards the river Indus, with orders to prepare a bridge for his passage over the river. By Peucelaotis is no doubt meant the Plain of Peshawur, though Pukli, which is evidently derived from it, is the modern name for a district on the east side of the

* I think it right to mention that these remarks, on Alexander's marches between the Kaucasus and the Indus, were written before I had seen the notice of those marches in Professor H. H. Wilson's very learned work just published on the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan. I have subjoined a few notes from it; but, subsequently to this one, have altered nothing of what I had originally written. "Aornos," he says (page 192), "in all probability is only the Hellenised form of the vernacular corruption of the Sanscrit form 'Awara' or 'Awarana,' an inclosure or stockade, and which as *awur*, or as Europeans write *ore*, forms the concluding syllable of the names of so many towns in this part of India—as Rajore and Bajore, which should be, if correctly written, Rajawur and Bajawur." As I am confining myself to remarks on the site of this celebrated rock, I will suppose Alexander at once to be arrived at some spot on the banks of the Kophenes, without

river, and peopled by Suhatis, although Suhat Proper is on the western bank. It is most probable, then, that they crossed the Kophenes at the first convenient place; or, perhaps, made use of rafts from Jellalabad; although no mention is made of this in Arrian. If the city of Astes,* taken by Hephæstion, was the same Peucelaotis as that to which Alexander diverged previous to the attack of Aornos, it is probable that we must find its site in that part of the plain north of the Kabul river, and between it and the mountains. It is more likely that Hephæstion should have crossed the Kophenes to the northern bank, to take it, than that Alexander should have crossed to its southern bank to receive its submisson, as no mention is made of the latter having done so. There is also no account in Arrian of Alexander having crossed the Kophenes or river of Kabul; we may, therefore, suppose that, in his march against the Aspii, the Thyræi, and the Arsaci, he continued to move eastward along its northern bank; and we infer that he continued near the plains, in con-

again (as I have already done in my "Visit to Afghanistan," page 198) entering into the question regarding the site of the Alexandria ad Caucasum, or whether Ortospanum was Kabul or Begram. I have always been inclined to think that Arrian's account would teach us to look for the Alexandria at Bamian. Professor Wilson, Major Rawlinson, and Mr. Masson, are of a contrary opinion; and, I confess, that my own was very much shaken on reading a dissertation on the subject in Professor Wilson's work just referred to: but still I think that many reasons exist in favour of the site at Bamian, although the others may preponderate.

* Astes is most probably Hasti, a name borne by several individuals in the dynasties detailed by the Puranas.—WILSON'S "Coins and Antiquities of Afghanistan," p. 185.

sequence of his mention of elephants and cavalry, and also from the occasional notice of large herds of cattle. Elephants were, no doubt, more numerous, and more generally used in these countries than at present; I mean, both tame and wild ones. At present there are none of the latter west of the Dhera Dhún. It is, however, probable that they were found in the Panjab in Alexander's time. Baber mentions that he hunted the rhinoceros in the Panjab, though that animal is not now to be found in the north-west of India.

Three rivers in particular appear to have been crossed by Alexander in his way to the Indus. If the Khonur river be the Euaspla of Arrian, then that of Hashtnagur may be the Guræus;* we must then suppose that the Khoes, first mentioned (the Khoaspes of Q. Curtius), one of the large torrents that descend from Kafferistan, was the mountain-stream which he had some difficulty in crossing. The Surkab or Red river, which joins the Kabul river above Jellalabad from the south, was, when I forded it, quite a second-rate torrent; and yet Mr. Moorcroft says, that when he saw it "its stream was so deep and rapid that it would not be possible to have crossed it on foot."—Vol. ii. p. 262.

The Khoes was then probably the river of Tughau, rather than that of Tatung, because the latter place is only a short day's march from the Khonur, and we

* Or perhaps Hasti, as in the last note. Of the Guræus, Professor Wilson says, p. 189, "This will agree very well with the district and river of Panjkora, the five Koras, Goras, or Guræi."

are told that it occupied him two days to reach the Euaspla. We may then look for Andaca, and the other town where Ptolemy was wounded, on the west side of the Khonur. When he arrived at the Euaspla, we are told that he fought a battle, and found a deserted city named Arigæus (probably a compound from Huri or Vishnu); but on which bank it is not mentioned. M. Court thinks that he has identified it with Arichund, on the east of the Guræus or river of Hashtnagur.

Alexander then gave orders for rebuilding the city of Arigæus, and, following its barbarian inhabitants into their stronghold, defeated them after a desperate encounter, in which Ptolemy says that he took 230,000 head of cattle; a number which must, of course, be over-rated. Thence he moved towards the Assaceni or Assacani, crossing the territories and river of the Guræi, which we have imagined to be the river of Hashtnagur, perhaps Astanunagur, the city of the shrine. Now, supposing this to be the case, we find a name which could easily have been commuted into Assaceni by the Greeks, in the modern "Yessen," an extensive *raj*, or country, which extends to the Indus (and in which the Hására Rajah assured me he had seen some remains, said by the natives to be connected with the name of Alexander (*vide supra*), and which thus lies in a direction agreeing with the account. He then took Masaca or Massaga, probably a name compounded with the word *maha* or the great, and *saka* or *sagur*, of which the word *Iskardo* (*Sagur-do*) is compounded at the present day. Sagur (the ocean) may mean the Indus or great flood. Whether Massaga was

near the Indus does not appear; but the country of Yessen lies for a great distance along its western bank, as already remarked, and the place may have been so called from its vicinity to the flood.

The modern Dír may have something to do with the ancient name of Thyræi (perhaps from Tir, an arrow), who were, it has been seen, one of the nations against whom Alexander marched, when moving in this direction, and near it. Dr. Henderson informed me that there is a village or place near it called Durora, perhaps the Duru or valley of Ora. M. Court has marked a mountain, in the same direction, called Laspissor, in this map, which, as we are hunting for derivations, may be compounded of the word *lah*, the common Tibeti word for a pass, and the second word has an obvious resemblance to the name of the Aspii, perhaps from *aspa*, a horse. My Bulti guide at Acho afterwards mentioned to me that the country about Giljhit and Yessen bore a general name of Uzir; which requires but little to change it into Vuzir, which would in Sanscrit be the same as Buzir: but I have my doubts of the name Uzir being really in existence.

I have thus thought it right to state every thing that occurs to me, in the shape of connected conjectures, regarding this march of Alexander thus far into the mountains towards the north; but I must repeat, that the frequent mention of elephants, cavalry, and cattle, by his historians, seems to be that of a fact independent of their indistinctness of narrative and their discrepancies in other respects; and if so, it deserves the greatest attention, as a negative proof that the scenes of the last-mentioned exploits of Alexander must be

sought for on the edge of the plains of the Peucelaotis, if not on the south of the Kabul river.

Arrian tells us that, after the fall of Massaga (wherever it might have been), Alexander summoned Bazira and Ora, places in different directions. He was about to march to the former, but heard that Abissarus (a name signifying "the way or opening into the mountains," and from which the modern name of Hására is derived, but which might in this case be applied to some great potentate on the banks of the Indus, which forms the great opening into the mountains) had thrown succours into Ora; and, therefore, he marched to the latter place first. This would seem to shew that Ora was situated high up in the mountains; but when we are told by Arrian that he seized all the elephants which he found there, it is evident that Ora was in a country where elephants could be used; and I therefore think it probable that it was situated somewhere in the Euzufzye country, and perhaps at Panjtah. The valley of the Indus, as seen from Acho, at the junction of the Hására river, is almost entirely barren, and could not, and never could, afford sustenance for the large quantity of cattle that is mentioned, or a footing for elephants, which I imagine would be quite useless and unknown in the adjacent countries.

The rock of Iskardo, being washed by the deep Indus, answers in some respects to the account of Q. Curtius. But it is not large enough, being only some four or five miles in circumference; and, with the exception of a few apricot trees on the edge of the river, it is perfectly barren, as is also the country around it: so that there was no neighbouring wood from which

the soldiers could bring trees in order to make a rampart, and I, therefore, dismiss the idea of its being the Aornos.

Bajira, from some similarity in the name, has usually been supposed to be the modern Bijawur, or Bajawur, a term which, most probably, as already remarked, signifies the temple of victory. But I should think that the term Bazira was only the original name of the modern Vuziri, signifying, I believe, "thieves" (the B and the V being used indiscriminately), which is a general name for the lawless inhabitants of these mountains of the Sulimani range, that are extended between the Tukt-i-Suliman, near Derabund, and the southern slopes of the Sufyd Koh, or White Mountain. "Tumám Vuziri? they are all Vuziri!" was an answer given to me by Amir Khan, the Lohani, with whose caravan I travelled through their mountains to Ghuzni. It is not impossible that this name, as I believe it to be, may have then extended northward as far as the mountains of Bajawur.

I am sorry to differ in opinion with another and excellent authority,* which has supposed the Aornos to be the Rock of Noagi, in Bajawur. I have never seen the place, and the accounts I heard of it were not such as to give me any idea of a place that would have stopped Alexander for a single day. Accounts, in the East particularly, differ very widely; but I am also rather inclined to my opinion from a reason pointed out to me by Mr. Masson, at Kabul, that as Alexander was marching generally westward, he would most probably have passed Noagi before he

* The late Sir A. Burnes.

reached Bazira, supposed by the same authority to be Bajawur; whereas it would appear, from the received accounts, that the Aornos, whither the inhabitants fled before him, was on the other side of it; particularly if there be any truth in the account of Q. Curtius, that it was washed by the deep Indus.

Now, it appears that Alexander, in the first instance, left the rock behind him, and proceeded to the Indus and the Peucelaotis, that is, the north part of the plain of Peshawur, to receive its surrender; and thence returning towards the rock, he took the city of Embolima in the way. I know of no place that answers so well to this name as the modern Umb, a town which I have seen in the distance from Torbela, on the west bank of the Indus. It is not very far from Derabund, and I therefore am inclined to suppose that if the Aornos be on the north of the Kabul river, it will be found not many days' march from the latter place.

From Aornos he is said to have made a second incursion to the territories of the Assacani, for the purpose of getting some elephants, and that he arrived at Dyrta, which he found deserted. Dír is not more than five or six marches from Derabund; and the accounts I have heard of the Laori Mountain behind it would justify an opinion that the Aornos may be found at or near it.

It is also stated that the elephants were at last found on the pastures on the banks of the Indus, and that he ordered vessels, or rafts, to be built from the timber which he procured in a neighbouring wood. There is much in this part of the account that tallies with the appearances about Umb. A broad belt of

flat land, green, and apparently well cultivated, intervenes between the river and the base of the mountains that run parallel to its course, from Torbela to Derabund, where the river is narrowed between them. All that I have seen of the Indus above the latter place, either in Little Tibet or lower down in the Dardu country, is generally so furiously rapid that neither boat nor raft could live in it. Q. Curtius, as already remarked, says that the Aornos was washed by the deep Indus. Arrian says nothing on that head; and it is most likely, I think, that it was not washed by it. The distance from Derabund to Attok, where the bridge was prepared, is, I should say, about fifty or sixty miles. So that it might have been worth his while to construct rafts for the conveyance of his heavy baggage.

Arrian says that Alexander arrived at Embolima before he took Aornos; Q. Curtius says it was after the capture of Aornos that he marched thither. There is nothing in either the account of Q. Curtius or Diodorus to shake what Arrian says of Embolima being near the Aornos. They only say that he was opposed by a chief named Eryx, or Aphrice, in the way thither. This may account, supposing their story deserving attention, for the delay of sixteen days occupied between Aornos and the Indus. Supposing, however, there was little opposition, it would certainly occupy about that time to descend from the rock of Iskardo to Attok; but there is no town amongst the Cordilleras of Little Tibet that would answer to Embolima; and elephants most assuredly could not get there up the bare and precipitous banks of the Indus. A raft-navigation, too, I have seen so much of the

mountain-course of the Indus as to think myself justified in pronouncing it almost impossible, excepting, perhaps, at intervals.

From the bridge (at Attok) we are told by Arrian that he made an excursion into the country in which Nyssa was situated. This was not in that part of the Peucelaotis north of the Kabul river, which he had already taken possession of, and had seen; it must therefore have been in the country around Kohat, or, what I think more likely, the plain of Jellalabad; and to get to either of these places, he must have crossed that part of the Peucelaotis south of the Kabul river.

As we have followed him, he passed also, of course, on the north of the Kophenes and Jellalabad. Mount Meros, a name which is no other than Meru (a Hindu heaven), was, I should suppose, the Sufyd Koh. It is much higher than any others in the country (14,000 feet according to Lieut. Wood); its sides are covered with forests, owing to the supply of water from the snow upon it, whilst those of other neighbouring hills are generally bare; and a great quantity of very fine grapes are also produced there. Perhaps a Mount Meros may have been formed on the low jungul-covered ridge which separates the plain of Peshawur from that of Kohat; and Nyssa may have been Peshawur, or some other place on the southern side of the Kophenes, which he had not yet visited. Arrian says, "He entered that part of the country which lies between the Kophenes and the Indus, where Nyssa is said to be situate." * He also speaks of a hill over-

* Professor Wilson has remarked, p. 193, that the whole story about Nyssa has the air of a Greek fiction.

spread with laurel, ivy, and thick groves, and all sorts of trees well stocked with all sorts of wild beasts. This latter account, together with the story of their getting drunk, as related by Q. Curtius, agrees better with the description of the Sufyd Koh, where there are vines. Bishop Heber's idea that the Macedonians fancied they saw the revelries of Bacchus in the celebration of the feast of the Dussera, is, I think, a very just one, wherever its locality may have been.

We will now suppose the Aornos to be situated on the south of Attok, in the Vuziri country, where (and I have it on the authority of Lieut. Mackeson, who had heard it from the natives) there is a place that answers its description very nearly. The consequence of general invasion, such as that of the Mahometans, for instance, where the invaders afterwards remain and settle in the conquered countries, is, I need scarcely remark, not only the imposition of new names in another language, but a shifting of the locality of the old ones, as new settlements have been formed, new markets and ways opened, or tyrannical usage has had the effect of forcing the inhabitants of any country to change their homes, and withdraw from their original borders. Thus Yessen may have extended more to the south than it does at present, and the Vuziri of the Sulimani range may have possessed the whole of the mountains up to, and even on the north of, the Kabul river.

The identification of the rivers passed by Alexander is exceedingly puzzling, excepting that, I think, of the Kophenes with the river of Kabul, which, whether he recrossed from Bactria *viâ* the Hindu Kosh, or *viâ* Bamian,—and we may suppose either,—

would be the first large river he met with. If we suppose that he marched through the open country south of Kabul, we must also suppose, although there is no more mention of it, that he crossed the Kophenes soon after he had sent Hephæstion to the bridge, who, most probably, went thither by the direct route, whilst his master went either north or south of it. Supposing him to have gone southward, then the Aspii,* Thyræi, and the Arsaci must, as Rennell imagines, have been inferior divisions of modern Kabul. M. Court has marked a considerable place called Théri in the Banu country, below Kohat.

The chief fault of Arrian seems to be his brevity; and the discrepancies between him and other authors treating on the subject generally, are such that one feels tempted to strike out a line for the march of the Macedonians from probabilities, and correct the received accounts by them alone. Strabo and Plutarch would make out that Alexander reached the Ganges; Diodorus and Q. Curtius, remarks Major Rennell, have confounded the Hydaspes and the Chenab; and Arrian and Diodorus (Q. Curtius also following the latter) contradict each other in their accounts of the quality of the country east of the Hyphasis; the former describing it as a flourishing and well-inhabited country, whilst the latter says that it is a desert between it and the Ganges. I have

* Professor Wilson, p. 187, says, "In Aspasii we have the term so often met with in these countries of Aspa, or Aswa, a horse;" and that it occurs in a similar sense is proved by Strabo's translation of it, "Hippasii." Surely such a name is more likely to be applied generally to an equestrian people in the plains than to a tribe of mountaineers north of the Kophenes.

already remarked other facts regarding the Peucelaotis and Suhat, which might add a little confusion to the accounts.

The name of Taxiles, who, although, according to Arrian, he possessed a capital between the Indus and the Hydaspes, is, I think, perceivable in that of the modern country of Ták, on the western bank; and if so, much of it being a plain, we may, in some measure, believe the accounts of the great numbers of horses, cattle, elephants, &c. possessed by the princes and inhabitants of these countries. It is ridiculous to suppose that the Assacani, a mountain tribe, against whom he marched, could have had any thing like the number of 20,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and 30 elephants, had they been mountaineers in the countries north of the Kabul river. I suppose then, for the sake of illustration, the Guræi may have been the inhabitants of the country south-east of Kabul, and the Guræus may be that now known as the Logur river; or, perhaps, the Euaspla may have been the Logur river, and the Guræus the modern Kurma, Gurma, or Kurum, which descends to a junction with the Indus, from the mountains on the southern face of the Sufyd Koh.

The tract of Banu, says Mr. Moorcroft, is an oasis in the middle of a desert, sixty or seventy miles long, and nearly of equal breadth, the western extremity of which is inhabited by nomadic Wuziris, with their cattle; its fertility is owing to its being watered by canals cut from the river Kurma, and Lieut. Wood speaks in high terms of the beauty and fertility of part of the country which he passed between Kalabagh and Kohat.

Now, supposing that Alexander marched by this route against the Assacani, we may look for their descendants in the Zaka Kyl (mentioned by Mr. Moorcroft as a tribe of the Khyber Pass), a name which, compounded with the word Maha, as already remarked, would form the name of their principal city, Mazaka; or we must agree with Major Rennell, in thinking that the word Assacanus is to be found in the modern name of the Issa, or Esau Kyl, lately visited by Lieut. Wood, who says that they speak of the greatness of their tribe in former times.

Esau and Zaka, which latter is the same name as Issachar, are Arabian as well as Jewish names of the present day; so that they might have existed in these countries before the Mahometans came there.

Now, having beat the Assacani, whichever of these tribes they might be, he would have a right to expect that the Vuziri, or Bazireans, would submit to him. There are many places in the country that may have been Ora, the taking of which, says Arrian, was a business of no great difficulty. But the Vuziri may thus have retired into the Aornos, which I have already mentioned to exist in their country, and marching thence back to the countries of the Assacani, he would find himself upon the river of Kabul, on which there is a raft-navigation even from Jellelabad to Attok. Arrian, however, distinctly says that the elephants were found on the pastures on the banks of the Indus. Had they been driven to the southward, they would have met Alexander; and, from what I know of the country, there was no more likely way of concealing them from the Macedonians than by making them swim the Kabul river, or Ko-

phœnes, and then driving them across the Guræus, and through the Euzufzye country, or, if they found it a safe path, by walking them across the plain of Peshawur, and thence driving them up the banks of the Indus, to the neighbourhood of Umb and Derabund, where, near the modern Umb, he may have constructed his rafts, as already mentioned.

As in the former case, it will be observed he passed Nyssa, on the north of the plain of Jellalabad, so in the last supposed line of route (and I again repeat that if the accounts of the horses and elephants, so often mentioned, are to be relied upon, I am far from thinking it the least unlikely), he passed on the south of it, and consequently had to visit it, after having seen that all was right at the bridge. One objection occurs, however, to the lower route, which is, that there is no mention of the Salt range, I believe, in any of his historians.

I am well aware that these remarks are rather aids to conjecture than evident demonstration; but the subject is interesting, and I have thought it right to say all that has occurred to me on it, and therefore hope to be pardoned by my readers for so long a digression.

Kumla Gurh, in spite of the accounts which place the Aornos on the west of the Indus, could not but stagger for a moment my faith in Arrian, and persuade me that, having found a place answering the description, he, and the other historians on the subject, had all made a mistake in its locality. Its size, its most majestic and very extraordinary appearance, its woods, villages, table-lands, heights, and precipices, make up an Aornos which, had it been on the western

bank of the Indus, would not have allowed a doubt to remain in the mind of any one who had seen it. The northern face of it, moreover, is washed by the deep Beyas, the only river of the Panjab whose stream is, I believe, sufficiently tranquil so far within the mountains as to allow of its being descended on a raft to the plains; and on its left bank, below Nadaun, and on the highroad to Lahore, are the ruins of an old city, called Ambota. It was, when I saw it, I believe, a virgin fortress; but has since been taken from the Mundi Rajah by the Sikhs, under General Ventura.

This naturally leads me to think and speak of my poor friend, Col. Foulkes, and his miserable end. He had distinguished himself during the siege, and was subsequently left at Mundi with the troops under his immediate command. They mutinied, and he was advised by them not to interfere, but depart at once, which he gallantly refused to do. In the night he was awakened by the cries of his orderly, who called upon him to escape. He was cut down, a funeral pile was heaped up, he was thrown upon it by his ruffian Sikhs, and the flame was applied to it whilst life yet remained in him. I saw a good deal of him at different times whilst I was travelling on the west of the Sutlej, and have often pitied him under circumstances of great irritation, anxiety, and suspense, occasioned by that tyrannical and insulting delay of decision for which Runjit was generally remarkable, when any one, whom he could bully a little with impunity, came to him for the purpose of taking service.

I am happy to be thus able, from my own know-

ledge, to make a public and honourable mention of a young Englishman, who sought his fortune in these countries, whose conduct and feeling seemed to me to be always that of an officer and a gentleman, and invariably that of a man who was too self-respecting to be servile, and too high-minded for intrigue,—which is usually necessary where any one, being alone, and having no particular interest or protection, is desirous of promotion in a native service such as that of the Panjab.

Taragurh (Sataragurh), the Fort of the Stars, is another fortress, tallying exactly with the description of Alexander's historians, excepting that it is washed, not by a large river, but by a mountain stream, above whose bed it rears itself to a height of perhaps 1500 feet. It may be seen from a great distance, rising like a "*meta*," as Q. Curtius says of the Aornos, with one towering and central peak, occupied by a fort, and surrounded on every side by mural precipices and ravines, which, if well defended, would render approach impossible. Patches of table-land, verdant with trees and cultivation, and no doubt irrigated with springs of water from above them, lie in plateaux upon its shoulders, from which, on the northern and western sides, is extended a ridge, whose serrated spurs and summits would seem to bid defiance to approach. One path only, I was informed, leads to the uppermost platform, and the gates and towers by which every possible point of access is guarded may be detected by the eye, as at Kumla Gurh also, like little dots in different parts of the hill.

The view of this fort, when seen from an elevation which I ascended in my way from it to Núrpúr, from which it is only about six and a half miles distant, is

grand and imposing in the extreme; and not the less so because the background of the landscape is formed by the Himalaya and the intervening mountains, over which they are seen. It belongs to the Chumba Rajah, from whom I requested permission to ascend it; but it was politely refused, on the plea that he himself would scarcely be allowed to ascend by his own guard in possession.

The two forts I have just mentioned come infinitely nearer to the description of Aornos than any hill I know of on the western bank of the Indus; and I think that, when its identity is agreed upon, it will be found to be composed, as they are, of conglomerate or sandstone of the lower ranges, whose general features are usually but one confusion of ridge-like summits, steep abutments, and mural precipices; and this supposition, again, does not militate against the idea of its being found amongst the vast masses of alluvium and conglomerate, which form so large a proportion of the Vuziri Mountains. The mighty Tukt-i-Suliman itself has plenty of trees upon it, and is by far the highest hill in the Vuziri country.

Nadaun is now an inconsiderable place on the banks of the Beyas, which flows by it, when it is not swollen by the floods or rains, in a stream of 150 yards in width, and twelve feet in depth, and running about three and a half miles an hour. I shall never forget the delicious coldness of its waters, in which I bathed at a very early hour in the morning, in the month of June, when I was marching for the first time towards the vale of Kashmir.

The ex-Rajah of Nadaun, named Jadd Bir *

* Jadd Bir is the Glorious Hero.

Chund, is a son of Sindar Chund of Tira. Instead of running off at the same time as his brother's family, he came to Runjit, who gave him Nadaun and a revenue of 80,000 rupees, but took it from him after a lapse of seven years. Nadaun was once famous for its gardens; and the attractions of the place are celebrated in the following lines, of which the second seems inserted merely for the rhyme:—

Awega Nadaun, jaega kuon?
Ootega kisnut, rukega kuon?

Who will come to Nadaun, and then leave it?
If fate arises, who can prevent it?

A few miles from it, on the Amritsir road, is, as I have already mentioned, the ruins of an old town called Ambota.

On the opposite side of the river, and on the north side of the open space which lies on the western side of the river opposite to Nadaun, is the sandstone range running north-west and south-east; and in the southern side of which, about six miles from Nadaun, is the temple and village of Jewala Muki, or the flame's or spirit's mouth,—a place which, on account of its sanctity, is full of fakirs and numerous holy men, subsisting on the donations of those who visit it from religious motives. There is nothing remarkable in the appearance of the hills around it. They are about three or four hundred feet in height above the plain, and nearly barren of every thing excepting the cactus.

The temple is built against the projecting corner of the rocks on the northern side of a ravine which opens into the range. Its appearance is unlike any thing else in the country, it being a square building,

for whose fourth side the sandstone from which it projects is a substitute. The area of its base may, perhaps, contain twenty square yards; and both the building and the portico, which is large in proportion, are surmounted by a richly gilded roof, in the Chinese fashion. A large bell, presented by the Rajah of Nipal, hangs before the entrance, and the court-yard around is filled with wild-looking fakirs; the attendants of great men, who have travelled from afar to perform their devotions at the shrine; peasants from the neighbouring villages, who have come in procession for the same purpose; and idlers, civil and military, who have come for no purpose at all, but to sleep, beg, ring the bell, and gossip. Perhaps, two or three Brahmini bulls (such as are turned out to go where they will, in performance of a vow, or usually by children after the death of a parent) are to be seen there also; and I observed a huge goat, who was amusing himself by rearing up against the wall, and licking off the ghee, or butter, with which each devotee thought it meritorious to anoint the little Hindu idols carved on the wall. A stream of hydrogen gas, which oozes through the sandstone, issues from ten or a dozen fissures in the rock; to this they apply a light, and the flame that plays around the fissure is considered to come from the Muki, or mouth of the Jewala, or spirit (of whom the headless idol at Malekra, afterwards noticed, is considered as the body), and is honoured and worshipped accordingly. Below some of the crevices are little reservoirs of water, which has oozed from the rock; and from the water, upon its being disturbed by the hand, a small quantity of the gas is evolved, and takes fire if a

torch be held near it. Within fifty yards of the temple is a small spring, whose water is salt, and slightly, I think, chalybeate: I brought away with me a bottle of the water, but lost it afterwards.

The last time that I passed through Jewala Muki was in February 1839, when it was the scene of a singular display of superstition. Runjit was much out of health, and rendered much worse by being checkmated in his designs upon Kabul by the expedition under Sir John Keane; and wishing for the assistance of the spirit in such an emergency, he had sent Radha* Kishen, a Pundit, with whom I was acquainted, to offer up prayers for him at Jewala Muki; and a sum of 15,000 rupis (1500*l.*) for the purchase of ghee, to be consumed by the sacred flame. The stench was similar to that of a candle-maker's shop. I was making a sketch of the place, and at first was requested to withdraw, as a mark of respect, whenever the bell rung for a fresh supply of ghee, but was afterwards allowed by the Pundit to remain, though he seemed to think it a great favour.

I once went from Jewala Muki to Núrpúr (which I am afterwards going to approach by the more circuitous route of Kot-Kangra), through Huripur,† once a place of importance in the lower ranges, as being the residence of the Gulieria Rajah, who was considered amongst his compeers in the Alpine Panjab to be the first in blood, although Sinsar Chund of Tira, was his superior in power. At present there is little to be seen there, unless it be the ruins of the Rajah's palace, and a well-built Sikh fort, on the summit of a hill that

* Radha is the consort of Krishna.

† Huripur, the city of Vishnu, or Siva.

commands the town, and appears to great advantange when viewed from the plain. The Ban Gunga river, which flows from Bijnath, passes near it. From Huripur I marched to the village of Jewali, on the bank of the little river called Dir. I pitched by a fountain, and observed a number of large fish (mahasir) that were swimming in the stone reservoir beneath it.

On the next day I reached Núrpúr, where the thermometer, on the 16th of June (1835), eight o'clock in the morning, stood at 91½°. Kangra, or Kot-Kangra, can be reached in one long day's march from Jewala Muki, by a good horse-path, sometimes winding amongst low hills and ravines covered with jungle, and at other times passing over a cultivated plain. From the pass, or top of the hill, near it, is obtained a fine view of its noble castle, built upon an eminence at the north-eastern corner; a flat-topped natural stronghold, surrounded, like Tira, by a ravine, with steep and sometimes perpendicular walls of sandstone rock. A very rainy day prevented my attempting to sketch it; and, for the same reason, I find that I must have trusted to memory for its circumference, which was, I think, between two and three miles, whilst the height of the precipice on which the castle stands could not be less—such is my impression—than 150 feet. A wall had been built around part of its southern and western extremities, where, without it, access to the top of the rock did not appear to be so difficult, as the bank sloped downward to the shallow stream of the Ban Gunga river; and on that side there was nothing striking in the appearance of the place; but, upon emerging from the gate which arches over the way to Malekra,

the traveller is suddenly greeted with an imposing view of its walls and defences, rising in tiers one behind the other, over the precipice. A small bridge and covered way, I think, connects the castle with the opposite bank of the ravine; and altogether I should pronounce it to be a place capable of being rendered almost impregnable in the hands of European engineers, especially as it is not, to the best of my recollection, commanded by any other eminence; which is so often the case with these once formidable hill-forts.

Kangra was originally a jaghir, or estate, which the great Moguls granted away to different nawabs, or governors, and I was informed that it never had its own Rajah. Forster says, that it was besieged for a whole year by Akber, who gave it as a reward to the general who captured it, and that it then produced a revenue of seven laks. The last of these nawabs was named Syf Ali, who made himself independent when the dynasty of Delhi was declining. After his death his Vuzir, Hazarah Byrsa, was also master of the neighbouring provinces of Koteli and Rilu, and took the revenues of these places for his own use, at the same time that Sinsar Chund, of Tira, was laying siege to Kangra. The father-in-law of Runjit was a great friend of the Vuzir, and marched to relieve the castle of Kangra, but was called away by Runjit, and killed in a fray at Amritsir. Sinsar Chund then took possession of the castle, and retained possession of the country for twenty-five years. These are probably the incidents of the war, noticed by Forster in his Travels in the year 1783, vol. i. p. 240.

In the year 1803, one-half of the invading army of

the Ghorkhas of Nipal crossed the Sutlej at Bilaspur, and the other half at Suky-Mundi, with the intention, as it was said, of taking the castle and country of Kangra, and then making use of it as the centre of their operations, to be directed against the valley of Kashmir, and the hill country north of the Panjab; and finally of making themselves masters of Lahore. The Bilaspur Rajah, in the name of those of his brethren, who were dissatisfied with the government of Sinsar Chund, had sent messengers to invite them forward; and whilst they were yet at Munsuri. Holkar, who had been beaten by Lord Lake (1805,) sent to offer the services of his troops to Sinsar Chund, who, however, refused to accept them, and he was consequently defeated by the Ghorkhas, and when the latter arrived at Jewala Muki, the other hill Rajahs came to meet and salaam to the Ghorkha chief.*

All these Rajahs of the highest caste took an oath of fidelity to Amur Singh,† the Ghorkha chief, the amount of their united forces being (so I was inform-

* These were the Rajahs Ajyt Singh, of Chumba; Bir Singh, of Núrpúr; Mendur Singh, of Bisuli, Baub Singh, of Gulieria, or Huripúr, who was, as already remarked, the greatest of all the confederates, being the Tika Rajah, *i.e.* the head of the family or clan, (so called from the Tika or aigrette which originally was worn by none but royalty, and from whom, as their superior, the others receive presents in return for their acknowledgment of his superiority); the Jysu Rajah, Umyd Singh; Govind Chund, the Rajah of Ditarpur; Govind Singh, the Rajah of Siba, thirty koss below Nadaun; the Rajah of Kotlyr on the Sutlej; the Rajah of Sukyt; Isri Syn, the Rajah of Mundi: the Rajah of Kulur; and Maha Singh of Bilaspur, who invited the Ghorkhas to come forward, and shewed them the way.

† Amur Singh, the immortal lion.

ed) about 10,000 men, on the understanding that he was to retain possession of Kot Kangra, and they were to be unmolested in their own territories. Sinsar Chund and his family were at this time in the castle, and the Ghorkhas immediately laid siege to it, and set before it for four years. At length the Gulieria Rajah, having, I believe, entered into some secret correspondence with Sinsar Chund, sent to invite the assistance of Runjit, who was at that time occupied with the mission of Sir Charles Metcalfe in the spring of 1809. After, however, the signing of the treaty of Amritsir, (25th of April) he came to Jewala Muki, where he ordered all the Rajahs to go and fight the Ghorkhas, and held his hand over the sacred flame at Jewala, thereby taking an oath to Sinsar Chund that he would not injure him; who, upon this, still kept the Ghorkas in play, by making some concessions, and told them, that if they would allow him and his family to depart unmolested, he would give up the castle to them. They replied, that he ought to come out and take an oath to that effect, at the shrine of the celebrated Devi of Malekra, and that then they would go and quietly take possession of the castle, and not molest him. He sent his Vuzir, Narung, who amused the Ghorkhas by taking the required oath; and, in the meantime, he smuggled two months' provisions into the castle, whilst he himself came out in disguise, and his wives and children, who had escaped unobserved, were allowed to pass the outposts in the garb of travelling peasants. They all arrived in safety at Tira; whilst the Vuzir had still contrived to keep possession of the castle, and the siege continued. The Maharajah arrived in about fifteen days afterwards,

and his forces, united with those of the above mentioned Rajahs, surrounded the Ghorkhas, who were glad to be allowed to retire. Sinsar Chund subsequently joined the Maharajah, but, in spite of the oath taken at Jewala Muki, was put under arrest on the following day. From a village between Kangra and Jewala Muki, they both sent to demand the keys of the castle from the Vuzir, who did not, however, think proper to comply. Upon this, they both went together upon an elephant to Kangra, and the Vuzir gave up the keys to Sinsar Chund. The Maharajah then took possession of the castle, and kept it from that time.

The town of Malekra lies but at a very short distance from that of Kangra, and is often included in the name. It is a neat, and, comparatively speaking, comfortable and clean-looking place, built on the side of a hill, on the top of which is the gate leading to Kangra, which comes in sight soon after emerging from it. It contains an idol, or *devi*, called Bawun, of great celebrity. I did not take the trouble to go and see it, but was informed that it was headless: the body thus remaining at Malekra, whilst Jewala Muki is considered as the head or mouth of the spirit.

But Kangra has throughout the East an old and far-famed celebrity for a very different reason — the performance by its inhabitants of the operation of nasotomy, if such a term may be applied where a new feature is given. People come even from Persia, to seek for a new nose at this out-of-the-way place. The Emperor Akber ordered that of some miscreant to be cut off; and the sentence was carried into execution. Some time afterwards he made his appear-

ance with a new nose; and the astonished monarch asked how he had acquired it. He was informed that Budyn, a surgeon of his own, had given the man his new nose; and he rewarded his skill by putting him in possession of a Jaghir at Kangra, and gave him the necessary writing, which is still in the possession of one of his descendants at Kangra, the Sikhs, of course, having taken possession of the Jaghir. Had the deed been produced, and shewn to me, as I wished, they would perhaps have seized that also.

Two practitioners, of whom I attempted to elicit the secrets of their art, were very unwilling to make any communication. However, I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bang, or wine, to render him senseless: they then, so I was informed, tap the skin on the forehead, above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin, of the proper shape, is then cut, and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on, and supported by pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment, in which blue vitriol is one ingredient.

The surgeons practise upon the credulity of the Hindus, by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi, or spirit, he himself being altogether featureless; and that the operation would succeed nowhere but at Kot Kangra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated upon, and were returning homeward, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature.

Rilu is a small village with a neat bazaar, and a castle with curtains and round towers, but in nothing remarkable, on an eminence behind it. The view

from it is inferior to the view of it, when approaching it from the side of Núrpúr. It stands very grandly and conspicuously in the centre of a wild, open, undulating, and partially cultivated country, which presents to the eye a landscape of varied tint and uniform beauty, and is rendered magnificent by the stupendous wall of mountains that appears to rise directly from behind it.

Rilu was anciently a possession of the Chumba Rajah's, but fell, as already mentioned, under the dominion of the Kangra Vuzir. After Runjit had got possession of the latter place, his forces marched and took Budrawur, and afterwards returned to lay siege to the castle of Rilu. In the meanwhile the Vuzir of Chumba went to the Maharajah, and made an arrangement for his master, by which he received back Budrawur in exchange for Rilu, which was forthwith given up to the Sikhs.

At Rilu I remember that a tree called Rayti,* Raynti, or Reetha, was pointed out to me, being less common in the Panjab than elsewhere. It bears a saponaceous berry, which is used in washing the shawls in Kashmir; and I was assured that a decoction of it was a specific for making the hair grow.

The people in the villages in this part of the country are said to be very quarrelsome and independent, and we had a specimen of their disposition to be uncivil, when, as night came on, we once attempted to force a peasant to act as a guide, a very common occurrence in the East, after having tried both persuasion and promise. The villagers com-

* Sapindus emarginatus.

menced the work of resistance by arming themselves with sticks and implements of husbandry, and sent messengers for help in different directions, a summons which was quickly attended to, and might have been seconded by a regular row, had not an old man who at last consented to go with us informed them quietly that no harm was intended, and advised them to go away and disperse, which they did. The stream which passes Rilu descends to Kangra, and joins the Ban Gunga below the castle.

Koteli lies on the way from Rilu to Núrpúr, from which it is about eleven miles distant in a direct line, and about twelve from Rilu. It was united with Kangra in the time of the Nawab Syf Ali, although originally in the territories of the Núrpúr Rajah; but it appears to have been disputed ground, as the Rajah of Huripúr often laid claim to it. Upon the death of the Vuzir it fell into the possession of Sinsar Chund. It is merely a large village, with a good bazaar, and a castle built by one of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi, upon an insulated sandstone rock, which, having mural sides of an elevation that varies from twenty to forty and fifty feet, would be easily defended against any thing but artillery. If a few guns, however, were placed on the opposite bank of the stream that washes it, and which is only a few hundred yards distant, it would not, I imagine, be able to hold out for any length of time. I am not aware of any thing at Koteli that is particularly worthy of the traveller's notice.

Tulughur, about two miles and a half to the eastward of Koteli, is a neat village, peopled by Kashmirian weavers, colonised by the Sikhs; and its in-

habitants are, it is said, freed from the obligation of carrying merchandise, — an exemption which they stipulated for as the condition of their settling there. Runjit dipped his hand in saffron-water, and imprinted a mark upon the wall of the Hindu shrine, in confirmation of the promise made by his general.

Núrpúr (the place of light), situated at the entrance of the hills, and the edge of the plains of the Panjab, and being, moreover, a great thoroughfare, through which Kashmir, Chumba, and Ladak are attainable, has always been a town of some importance. It now contains an excellent bazaar, and upwards of 15,000 inhabitants, the greater proportion of whom are Kashmirians; and half of these Kashmirians are shawl-weavers, who enjoy at this place a comparative security, by being exempted from the delegated and oppressive tyranny and exactions of the Sikh governor of their native valley. There is nothing remarkable in the appearance either of the town or its castle. The latter is built, in the usual style, of stones and mud, with towers at the angles, and along the curtains of a square, and stands on the top of a bank over a low sandstone cliff. Beneath it runs a small river, which comes from the neighbouring mountains, and is united with another from the eastward, at a small distance above the town. It then flows into the plains, where it joins the Ravi, about thirty miles distant from Núrpúr.

When I first passed through the latter place on my way to Kashmir, I received every attention from the thanadar or mayor of the place. I inquired for him on my return thither on February 16th, 1839. I found that he was imprisoned, for having, when the Maha-

Rajah was very ill, and expected to die, taken possession of the castle, in the hope of rendering himself independent. Such an occurrence is very common in the East. Bound by no ties of constitution or honourable allegiance—independent of every obligation except those that arise from a fear of superior power—Orientals are united only (and not always then) by a common cause,—a religious war, or a general invasion. Ever watchful of his own interest, an Eastern governor is frequently one who waits but the opportunity of making himself independent; and as his abilities are often inversely to his rashness, and his means are not always timed in accordance with the occasion, his success is usually of short duration, and his liberty, his eyesight, his possessions, his family, and perhaps his life, meet with but little mercy at the hands of his offended chief.

I believe the shortest way from Núrpúr to Jamu is through the plains, but have never travelled by it.

I afterwards saw the ex-Rajah of Núrpúr, Bir Singh, at Chumba. He is now an elderly man, short in stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable any where, and a good-natured, manly, but very melancholy expression. Many years ago, a Sikh general invaded his country, by order of the Maharajah. He defended himself successfully for several days, but Runjit sent to request an interview, and Bir Singh repaired to Lahore. There —such is his own story—he was threatened with annihilation from the mouth of a cannon, if he did not agree to the Maharajah's terms. The Sikhs say that Runjit demanded the evacuation of the castle of Núrpúr, in order that it might be garrisoned by his own troops, and that he would allow the Rajah to

keep possession of the country upon payment of a certain revenue; and that he was liberated upon these conditions. However, when he had obtained his liberty, he returned to Núrpúr, collected a force, and tried to retake his castle; upon which the Sikhs returned with a strong force, and Bir Singh fled towards Chumba. But the Rajah of the latter place, whose sister he had married, fearing the resentment of Runjit, refused to protect him; and he was again taken prisoner, confined for seven years at Amritsir, and regained his liberty only in a fit of compunction, which seized Runjit when he supposed himself to be on his death-bed. He again came to Chumba, and his brother-in-law, the Rajah, purchased his freedom for a lak of rupees. He has since passed many years at Simla and Subathu, in the Company's territories, and his whole prayer, night and day, was for the death of Runjit, after which he expected that we should again reinstate him; and I am of opinion that it will some day be found necessary to do so.

Núrpúr being, as I have already stated, the great thoroughfare for travellers and merchants going either to Kashmir or Tibet, an insertion in this place of a general notice of the passes into Kashmir, will not, I hope, be thought premature. A general notice of all the other principal passes in the Alpine Panjab, that I have seen or inquired about, will be found a few pages hence. I mean here to give only the names of the passes into Kashmir, and the periods for which they are open, &c. and will begin with—

1. The Baramula Pass, by which the Jylum leaves the valley. This is open all the year round, for horses and foot.

2. Púnch, or Pukli. This path, which quits the road on the second day from Bhimbur, and joins the Baramula Pass at Uri, two days from the valley, is rarely closed, either for horse or foot, all the year round.

3. Gul Múrg, Firozpur, the Cærulean city, and Baba Pamrishi, may be considered as one. It is not used for horses; is shut by snow for about three and a half months in the winter, but persons on foot can pass it about the middle of April.

4. Tosi Mydan. Shut for five months; open about the middle of May, for horses, if the weather be fine; open earlier for foot passengers. Both this and the former descend upon Púnch.

5. Sung-i-Sufyd, or Chanz, near Shah Nur-u-Din, by Bruneh-war, is open during six months from the middle of June; not for horses.

6. Pir Panjal, or highway of the Mogul Emperors from Bhimbur; part of it is also, I believe, called Sona-Gulu (the golden defile) in Kashmir. This is shut for about three months and a half; open for foot about the 20th of April, and if the weather be fine, for horses about the 20th of May. There is also a way called Duru Hal, on the westward of this road.

7. Nundan Sar, which joins the former at the Serai of Allahabad, is, I believe, open for about the same time, for men and horses.

8. Sedau, is open for horses: with regard to the snow, it is much the same as the Pir Panjal road, but is more difficult. From the village of Wutu, five miles from Sedau, there is also a way that joins the Sedau road: I do not exactly know where; but I was informed that the Sedau road descends upon the village of Budul, about twenty miles eastward of Thana.

From Budul there are two roads into the Panjab, one by Rihursi and Aknur, and the other by Rajawur. Budul seems to be about midway between the Chunab and Rajawur. It lies, I was informed, upon much higher ground than Thuna.

9. The way of Kuri, improved by Gulab Singh, to Rihursi, is open for horses a little earlier and later than the Pir Panjal road, and is said to be the best horse-path out of Kashmir. The way of Diwul, or Iwul, ascends from Kuri (it is also called the way of Nurgám). In summer time it is a horse-road; it passes near the Kosa Nag, and joins the others at Budul.

10. Col-Nárawa, or Kuligám, is always open for foot passengers to Jamu. The pass over the Panjal is called Watur Nareh.

11. Banihal, always open. I was the first person whose horses had ever been over this pass, which they crossed in safety.

12. Sir-i-Bul to Kishtawár, not open for horses. Shut for four months; if the weather be fine, it is open about the middle of June.

13. Mir-Bul, by Tarnksum bridge, to Kishtawár, for horses. Shut, I believe, about the same time as the Pir Panjal way.

14. Ná-bug-nyh, ditto: no horse-road, if the traveller be going to descend the valley of Muru Wurdwun. A horse can ascend the valley, I believe, by the Perkuchi path towards Ladak.

15. Pahalgam, or Umur Nath; no way for horses; open about the 20th of June, and shut from the time of the first fall of snow, which usually happens between the 10th and 20th of December: I have twice seen it fall about the 15th.

16. Duras, called Hem Bafs, or Báb (Arabic), the gate of snow, by the Little Tibetians. This is the great road to Great and Little Tibet; shut only for horses, for a week or two after an extraordinary fall of snow;—rarely shut for foot passengers. Duras is the only way by which a laden horse can pass to Ladak from the plains of the Panjab.

17. Koh-i-Hamon, through, I believe, the valley of Tilyl to Duras: never open for horses.

18. Bundurpur, by Gurys and Deotsuh to Iskardo; open for three months and a half, only for horses, from the 25th of May or the 1st of June, and shut for foot travellers during all the winter months; but Iskardo can always be reached if the Duras pass be not shut.

19. Lolab to Gurys: not for horses; always open for foot.

20. Kurnawur to Mazufurabad, always open for foot; horses, I have been informed, cannot pass without the greatest difficulty, but a Jonpan, or open sedan-chair, can pass. It occupies four or five days to get to Mazufurabad by this way.

I was told of three passes over the snow, from the Utur, or North Pergunah, in Kamraj; those of Kurnau, Bungus, or Vehamu, and a third from the village of Hurch under Seta Sar, by which Durawur is reached in five days. The way of Kurnawur is better than that of Vehamu. Abu Fuzl says that there are twenty-six roads into Kashmir; but an active mountaineer could enter the valley in many places besides the regular passes.

Chumba may be visited either from Núrpúr or Bisuli. On the way from Núrpúr, six miles distant, is the noble hill-fortress of Taraghur, or Satara Gurh,

already noticed. Thence to Chuwari it is about five miles more, in a straight line, and thence again the natives call it twelve kos to Chumba. In a straight line it may be ten or eleven miles; but a long and lofty pass is to be ascended in the way, whose summit, about 8000 feet in height, lies equidistant from Chuwari on the one side, and the Ravi, which runs beneath Chumba, on the other.

The path winds amongst the picturesque banks and inequalities on its summit; and the fir-trees with which they are covered, intercept the splendid prospect of the plains to the south, and the wall of the Himalaya to the northward; different views of which are enjoyed in perfection from the open spaces on either side of the mountain. A coarse gneiss is found on the ridge, which is covered with snow from December to April, and the large town of Chumba appears in the valley at its foot, situated at the confluence of the Ravi and the Sal,—the latter a small stream which flows from the eastward. Chumba is surrounded on all sides by stupendous mountains.

I approached Chumba from Bisuli, and left it by the route I have just described. The march from Bisuli is performed, with baggage, in three days. There are also two paths from Bisuli; one ascends the right bank of the Ravi, and the other, on the second day, rises over the hills. I preferred the latter, as it is somewhat shorter; and the magnificence of the scenery amply repaid me for a little extra fatigue. The first march from Bisuli winds amongst precipices formed in the sandstone strata, from a less to a greater height of 300 feet above the river. The summits of Montserrat itself are not more curiously shaped, or

boast a more interesting formation than these strata; although they are but a miniature representation of that wonderful mass of conglomerate; as in many places the shingle and red gravel may have been disturbed, were we to judge merely by the freshness of their appearance, but a few years ago. I found no shells or remains of any kind.

The village cottages were whitewashed and thatched, with a neatness that would not have disgraced those of England; thick topes, or clumps of Mango trees, were plentiful around them; and the whole aspect of the country told favourably of the Rajah's government.

On the second day's march the halt was at Bari. From the summit of the pass above it, the whole horizon was bounded, on the north, by that part of the snowy range which lines the western bank of the Chunab, as it descends through the Ponga valley, and forms a division between the dominions of Ladak and Chumba. Its distance is about fifty miles, and it appears to be elevated several thousand feet above the limit of the forest,* and is called simply the Pala Dhara, —"the Shepherd's Mountains." The intervening country is occupied by the long ridges and valleys, that slope from it downwards towards the Ravi, and by vast swelling mountains, rising directly, with one unbroken sweep, from the very beds of the rivers that flow between them; their sides and rounded summits covered with jungle, but interspersed with villages, to be detected only in the distance by the little plateaux of cultivation which are almost invariably extended around them.

*. 11,500 feet.

When crossing the summit, I met a marriage procession. The bridegroom was journeying to the house of the bride, attended by a band of music, and numerous friends apparelled in the gayest colours, and carrying the bridegroom in a kind of open sedan. As they wound down the mountain-path to the village of the bride, which was situated at an immense depth below, their wild notes floated to the opposing bank, and, multiplied by surrounding echoes, rose softened into bursts of actual harmony, than which nothing could have been more in unison with the splendid scenery around.

A very lofty and snowy cone rises with great majesty, at what appears to be the south end of the valley of the Ravi, distant but a very few miles from Chumba. The Ravi sweeps by it from the eastward, then turns and passes the town from north to south, and continues in that direction for four or five miles after leaving Chumba, which is situated upon its north bank. The principal source of the Ravi is the little lake of Muni-Mys. Muni usually signifies a ruby, or a jewel, and it might be here used in that sense, on account of the brilliancy of the water, or as a term of veneration. I was told by the natives that it signified avalanche. Mys may be a corruption of Mahesh, which may signify the god Siva. Muni-Mys is situated on the mountains of Burmawur. It is considered by the Hindus to be a holy place, and visited as such.

The pathway from Bisuli descends upon the valley of the Ravi, about four miles below Chumba. It is very narrow, but all the available places are well cultivated. Chumba is a picturesque place, and to me

was a particularly interesting one, having never, the Rajah assured me, been visited by any other European traveller. The town is built around a rectangular mydan, or green, about 500 paces in length and about 80 in breadth, and stands about 3000 feet above the sea. The houses, about 1000 in number, are low, and built of wood, the roofs being of the same material. The population, at a guess, may be from 4000 to 5000. The palace of the Rajahs rises from an eminence overhanging the green, and is of the same construction as the other houses, excepting that its foundations are of stone, and that it is far more extensive.

It was already late when I was approaching Chumba. I heard that the Rajah had caused a tent to be pitched on the green, and was waiting there to receive me in state; and that the whole population had turned out to have a look at the Feringhi. But I was somewhat fatigued with the march, and thought, moreover, that it would be a good opportunity for a "tamasha;" —a word, by the by, which, throughout the East, is very commonly used to signify "fun." Accordingly, as the daylight was passed, and I heard that the Rajah had in consequence retired to his palace, I determined to enter the place *incog.;* and dismounting, and attended only by a single servant and my Munshi, whom I immediately despatched to wait upon the Rajah, give him my salaam, and express to him my regret for having unavoidably kept him waiting; I pushed forward on foot. On arriving at the bridge over the Ravi, at the foot of the lofty bank on which the town is built, I saw a deputation from the Rajah, in waiting for me at the toll, or custom-house, and,

by the light of the torches they used, I observed that they were all dressed in their holiday attire, in order to receive me. Numbers of persons, collected by curiosity, were loitering about the bridge; but I walked by rapidly and unobserved in the darkness. In the same manner I ascended the bank, and, under guidance of the Rajah's servant, who had been with me from the morning, and whom I ordered to be silent, I entered, passed through the crowds on the green, and reached the house allotted to me without being recognised.

The natives of the East are generally such sticklers for form and ceremony, and are so much more inclined to add to rather than to drop one iota of their dignity, that there would have been little difficulty in persuading them, if I may use such an expression, to disbelieve their own eyes, had there been light enough to see me,—by pointing out the absurdity of supposing that so great a man as a Feringhi Sahib could possibly come to Chumba without a large escort of attendants. When I had fairly escaped observation I again looked out upon the green, in order to see what effect would be produced by the arrival of my servants and baggage, and was not a little amused to see at last my kitmagar, the cook or steward (a fierce-looking fellow who had been a Sepahi in the Company's service) striding across the green by the light of dozens of torches, the crowd dispersing and making way for him, amidst the vociferations of many who, despite of his dress and colour, would have it that he was the long-expected Feringhi; and they were not undeceived until the next day, when I mounted an elephant to go and call upon the Rajah, who

seemed to have enjoyed the joke, though it was beneath his dignity to talk much about it.

During the five minutes occupied by the ascent to the palace, I was saluted by several rounds from the Rajah's park of artillery, consisting of three old guns, standing *en potence* on the green; and, upon dismounting from the elephant, I was ushered into the large "pateo," or court-yard of the palace, where, in the open veranda, the Rajah was sitting in state to receive me. Upon his right sat Bir Singh, the Núrpúr Rájah already mentioned, and opposite to him, by my side, was seated the Rajah's brother. The attendants were very numerous: the court-yard was lined with armed retainers; horses and elephants, in splendid caparisons, were standing in the centre; and as every one was dressed in red, yellow, or green, the pageant was very effective.

There was nothing remarkable in any conversation that passed at this and subsequent interviews, or at the Rajah's return-visit, which took place in a tent pitched at my own request on the green. After the usual complimentary inquiries on the subject of each other's health, and expressions of our mutual wishes that it was "Khosh! bisear khosh!"—happy! very happy!—the time of the visit was usually spun out by answers to my questions about the country, its ways, its productions, curiosities, animals, &c. I observed that when either the Rajah or his brother, Zurawur Singh, made his appearance, he was loudly saluted by the bystanders with an expression, the words of which, differing as they did from any that I had heard used elsewhere in saluting, I am sorry to have forgotten; but their meaning was much the same as the

"Khaneh abad! abad!" of the Afghans and Persians. May your house be fortunate!

Cherut Singh, the Rajah of Chumba, is now, I should think, about forty-six years of age, for thirty of which he has been upon the *gadi* (royal cushion). He is not tall, and is inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile, and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression, and a weak and drawling voice. Zurawur Singh* is not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome but inexpressive features, and was always splendidly dressed, *à la* Sikh, with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead, over the turban. He allowed me to draw his profile, but pretended that he did not care about having it taken, and I could never persuade him to sit quiet. The Rajah was more complaisant; he sat like a statue, and was so pleased with his own likeness, that I was obliged to present it to him, and make another for myself. After I had succeeded tolerably with poor Bir Singh, I handed the drawing to Cherut Singh for his inspection, who, upon seeing the long, melancholy face of his Quixote-looking brother-in-law portrayed upon paper, was wholly unable to check a disposition to laughter, and burst into a long-continued chuckle, in which all regard for Oriental gravity and decorum was quite forgotten.

The family of Cherut Singh are Rajputs of the highest caste. He claims a descent from the Rajahs of Jaudpúr in Marwar; and though he payed an annual tribute to the Maharajah, Runjit Singh, yet he has never been to make his salaam, or tender him the

* The powerful lion.

homage of an inferior, and has always sent his brother, Zurawur Singh, in his stead, to the plains of the Panjab; and his travels have never extended beyond Chinini, whither he went to claim and carry off his bride, a daughter of the Rajah of that place, whom I shall afterwards notice. He passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his puja, or Hindu worship; then follows the breakfast; and then the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business, and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the green, upon an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen. The Rajah is said to be a good man; but his subjects, as is generally the case in the East, are much robbed and oppressed by his superior officers. His Vuzir, Nutu, much celebrated throughout the country for his superior sagacity and wisdom, died about seven years ago, and was a great loss to his master.

The dominions of the Chumba Rajah are much larger than those of any other potentate in the mountains north of the Panjab; their extent from north to south being about fifty miles in a straight line, but somewhat less from east to west. I should say that they were not well peopled, and that, in case of necessity, he could not bring above fifteen hundred armed men into the field. I do not know the amount of his revenue, but should not think it large.

I visited poor Bir Singh at Chumba, and found him in a large building on the south side of the town. His anxiety to regain possession of his dominions was evident in every sentence that he uttered; and he continued to relate the history of his misfortunes, and

to request my assistance, although I assured him over and over again that I was not an *employé*, either of the king or of the East India Company. "Reinstate me again at Núrpúr!" he exclaimed; "promise me that you will not interfere in my domestic affairs; and I will do any thing to shew my gratitude to the English, and commence by making a wide road for them throughout my dominions."

Chumba is entirely inhabited by Hindus, and the great glory of the place is its famous idol of Lakshmi-Narayan, or Vishnu, and his wife; the idol, though clothed in what appear to be female robes, being intended for Narayan, or Vishnu. The Rajah informed me that the abode of this idol was originally at Mount Abu, the Guru Sikr, or Saint's Pinnacle, in the Dekkan.* The shape of the stone temples, which are numerous in Chumba, are the same as those at Abu in general configuration; they resemble the top of a plantain-fruit,—from which, perhaps, the idea may have been taken. The carving of the ornaments is better at Chumba than at any other place I saw in the Alpine Panjab.

Sixteen brothers of a former Rajah of Chumba (such was the Rajah's story to me) went to bring the Devi alive to Chumba. Fifteen out of the sixteen perished, on account of the resistance that was made. The Devi courted the friendship of the sixteenth, and came with him willingly to Chumba. There, however, he soon made himself obnoxious, by obtruding himself into the Chumba Zunanas. A Musalman fakir, Shah Mahadar, who was also a

* *Vide* Tod's "Rajast'han," vol. i. p. 8, and vol. ii. p. 440.

traveller, and has his shrine upon many a hill in the north of India, chanced to arrive at Chumba. The married men of the town went to him, and implored his interference in their behalf, against the newly imported divinity. The latter used to ride as usual through the air upon his garuda (a kite), and the fakir commanded the bird to watch, and give the alarm when the Devi was coming forth for the next time. Lakshmi-Narayan advanced his foot, and the garuda uttered a cry, for which the enraged Devi transfixed him with an arrow. A pillar, that might pass for an imitation of the Doric, is placed in front of the temple, and upon it is the gilt figure of the bird, as large as an eagle, transfixed with the arrow. This part of the fable is no doubt invented in order to prove that the god must now and for ever remain at Chumba, as he cannot move away without the garuda. Such is the reverence in which the idol is held, that I have been present when the Rajah and every person in his court ceased their conversation, arose from their seats, and muttered a prayer whilst the bell was ringing at the shrine; precisely in the same way as I have heard the "oracion" of the Spaniards walking on the Paseo at Seville, when the convent bells rang the signal for vespers.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER V.

Mountain Passes from Kashmir—Ladak—Chumba to Burmawur—The River Chunab—Mr. Moorcroft—Itinerary—The Wild Horse—The Rajah of Chumba—Ballad Singers of Chumba—Native Melodies—The Shepherd's Song—The Sepahi's Song—National Air of Chumba—Singular Ferry—Bisuli—A Dead Rajah—Road to Kashmir—Ancient Path made by the Mogul Emperors—Mountain Scenery—Ancient Fortresses—Travellers' Greeting—Wild Beasts—A Stoppage—Gulab Singh—A Roguish Gardener—Ancient Castle—A Holy Lake—Successors of Runjit Singh—Treachery of Gulab Singh and Runjit Singh—The Price of Poisoning a Rajah—Jamu—Its Palace—Its Population—Interview with Gulab Singh—Cross-questioning—Toleration—Religious Toleration.

CHAPTER V.

I HAVE already noticed the passes into Kashmir. I will here make some general remarks upon the paths through the mountains of Ladak; premising that there is no way by which a laden horse can pass, excepting that by Duras from Kashmir, and that when I speak of distances, I mean such as can be performed with baggage-porters, called Kuli in Hindustani, and Bigarri in Persian. The old arrangements have been much spoiled by the Sikhs; but, originally, the great road for merchants from Hindustan lay by Núrpúr, Chumba, Chatur Ghur, Zanskar, and Ladak. The Núrpúr Rajah provided them with Kulis to carry their goods as far as Chumba, taking an *ad valorem* duty from the owners. The Chumba Rajah did the same to the end of his territories, which then extended to the pass of Zanskar, at the extremity of the valley of Padur, or Paldur. There commenced the territory of Ladak. But this way is only open during the summer months, as the mountain of Zaruk, by which they pass the Pala Dhára, is extremely elevated. As long as the pass is open an unladen horse can cross it.

Another way to Ladak from Chumba is by Burmawur, Lawur, or Lahoul, to Chu-chut,—as that part of the valley of the Indus, a little above the town of Leh, in Ladak, is called. This is open about the same time as the Ziruk road, but there are fewer human

habitations, and less cultivation. The Burmawur way is used by those who fear the passage over the deep and dangerous clefts in the glacier of the mountain of Zanskar (called Zeskar by the natives of Chumba), or Burdar, and is also more used than any other by the mountaincers of Chumba, who naturally prefer to travel as far as they can in their own country; whereas the merchants from Yarkund, or the natives of Hindustan, being strangers, prefer the Chatur Ghur road.

Burmawur is five or six days' march from Chumba. The road thither, I believe, conducts the traveller along the bank of the Ravi; it is chiefly inhabited by shepherds, who may be always known by the peculiarly shaped and cornered felt cap which they wear. Five or six days are occupied in passing from Burmawur to Lawur, or Lahoul; and on the second day, on arriving at the summit of the pass, is seen the river of Chandra, or the Chunab, flowing westward, according to Mr. Moorcroft, who says that "its source, as well as he could judge from its volume, might be about thirty miles distant," and which, I was credibly informed, was in a small lake called Chundra Bagha, or "the Garden of the Moon," (the Sonda Bal of Ptolemy).

The name Chunab may perhaps be a corruption from Chund-ab, or "the Water of the Moon." It is sometimes derived from Chin-ab, or "the Water of China;" but it is probable that no good reason for this will be found to exist, inasmuch as it does not come from any part of the Chinese territories. The Ravi, the Beyas, and the Sutlej, have their sources to the eastward of it, and would therefore be more deserving of the name; and it is, moreover, to be considered that the Indus, in passing through the Tibets, flows to

the northward of the sources not only of all the rivers of the Panjab, but of the Jumna and the Ganges, in its fine sweep of longitude from east to west.

From Chundra-Bagha the path, which is here joined by that from Mundi, descends to the left, and passes another lake, called Surij Dul, or "the Lake of the Sun." Thence, says Mr. Moorcroft, emanates another river, which descends southward to a junction with the Chunab, after which the united streams are known as the Chundra-Bagha, and flow towards Kishtawar, where I crossed them. Thence the path conducts the traveller to the banks of the Indus, a little above Ladak, or, more properly, Leh, Ladak being the name of the country. Mr. Moorcroft travelled this way from Mundi to Ladak, and Dr. Henderson followed the same route in 1836.

The way from Kashmir to Ladak, *viâ* Duras, will be mentioned in another place. The way to Ladak by Muru-Wurdwun, from the Panjab, commences from Bisuli; thence to Budrawar for horses, when open for them, in four days; thence to Doda, for foot-passengers only, in two days, or one long march; thence to Kishtawar, for foot only, in three or four days; thence to Muru, in five or six days, with baggage, for foot only. A horse can be ridden only occasionally on these roads, and the same horse cannot be led beyond a certain distance. From Muru there are two ways to Ladak; one by Perkuchi, and in five days, then to Rongdum and Zanskar; the other by Wurdwun, reached in two days, but on foot only, thence to Suru, in five days, and thence to Kulutzi, where the Indus is crossed two days below Ladak. The first of these, from Muru to Perkuchi, occupies ten days for horses, with difficulty,

to Zanskar; thence from Zanskar to Snimo, on the Indus. In the winter months, from the 12th of December to the middle of May, there is no way into Kashmir for horses, excepting by Baramula; thence by Duras to Suru and the Kulutzi bridge to Ladak, in eighteen or twenty days. A horse carries 28 trak (about 320 lbs. English), a Kuli carries 13 trak (150 lbs. English), at the rate of one small rupee (about 1*s.* 4*d.*) for each.

The kiang, or wild horse, is found upon the hills north of Zanskar and Lahoul. I never saw one; but from the description given by Mr. Moorcroft,—who knew so well what a horse was, and particularly specifies that the prevailing colour is chestnut, but that the tail is bare,—I cannot but suppose with that gentleman that the kiang is neither a horse nor an ass.*

During my visit to Chumba the Rajah was constantly sending me presents of winged game, that had been killed by his hawks; and I fared well upon the different species of the Himalaya pheasants. The Monal, or Impeyan pheasant, is here called simply the Nil (or the blue); the long-tailed Chyr is, I think, called the Chánum; and the Kalij of the Simla mountains is the Kukur of Chumba, and the Prakulu of Kishtawar.

Chumba is the only place where I remember to have seen the Churk falcon in training.† I believe this bird to be the true Lanner of naturalists. The inhabitants of all the neighbouring states are to be seen at this interesting place. The universal Kash-

* *Vide* Moorcroft's Travels, vol. i. p. 443.

† *Vide* my "Personal Narrative of a Visit to Kabul and Afghanistan," p. 136.

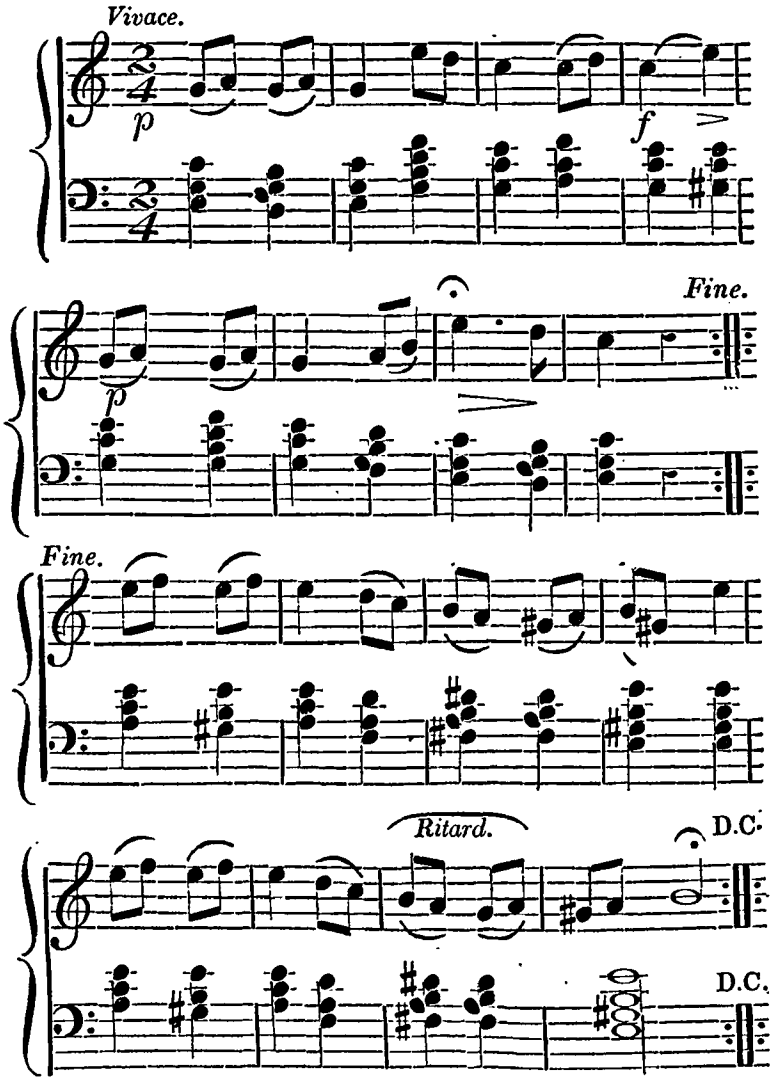
mirian, the dirty Ladaki, with his Hussar cap and iron tobacco pipe, the curiously capped Burmari, and the Hindus of the lower ranges of the Panjab, may have come thither upon business, but are often to be observed idling upon the green, and amongst them are the more gaudily attired attendants of the Rajah, on foot or on horseback, and occasionally the women from the village called Ronal, at the foot of the Ziruk Pass, who are remarkable as being the only females in the hills who wear a turban. They are usually bare-headed, or merely draw their cloaks over their head. "Chumb-achumba!" is the national adage; and a play upon the name. Achumba signifies pleasant, or happy.

An old woman and her son were singing ballads on the green at Chumba. I was struck with the wild music of their melodies, and used to have them to sing to me whilst at breakfast and dinner, until I had acquired them. I subjoin them, in the hope that they will be looked upon as not without interest.

I do not know the words of the first, but they form a dialogue between a shepherdess and her swain, the whole burden of which is, a piece of advice given by one, to the effect that the other ought to go and attend the flocks, who in turn confesses an unwillingness to move from the presence of the other.

SHEPHERD'S SONG.

CHUMBA.

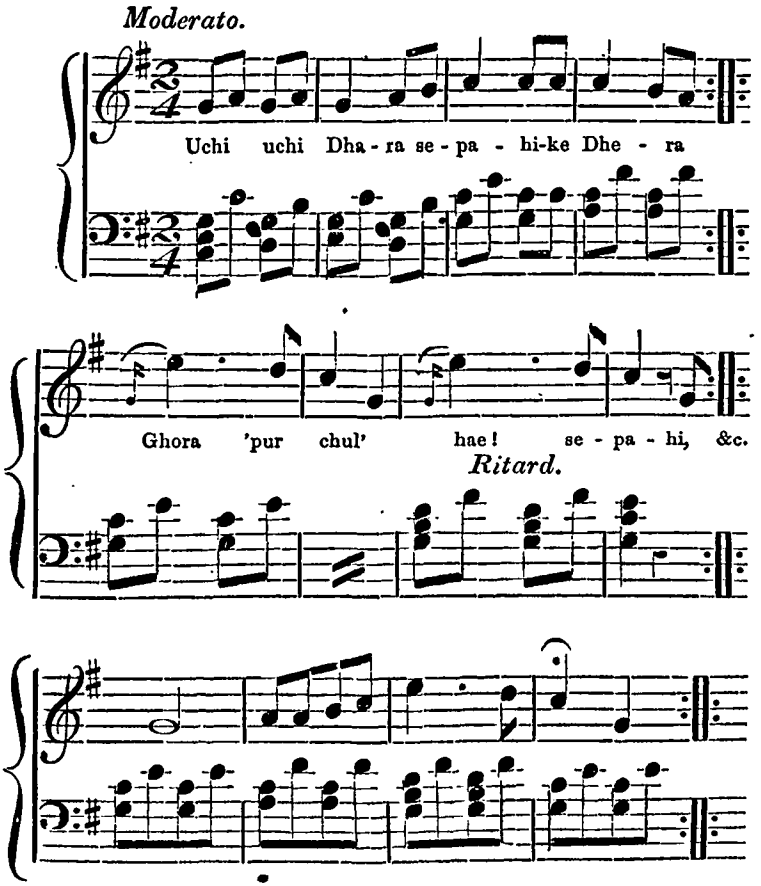


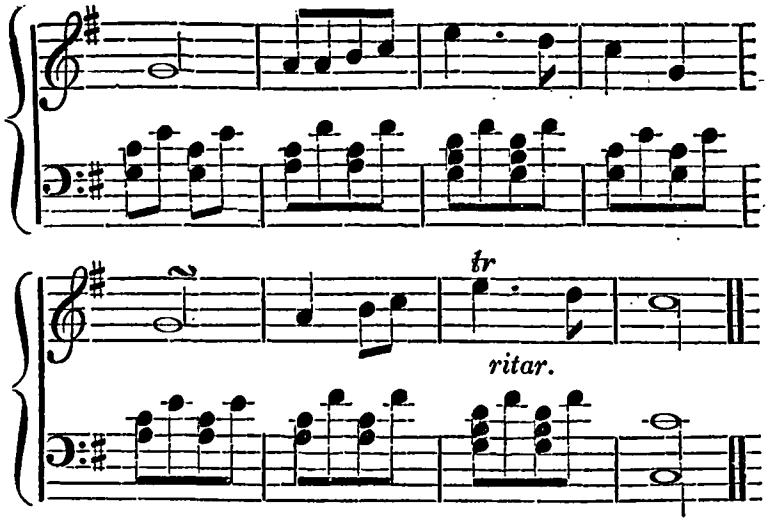
The second part of the above air has been composed in England.

The words of the next contain advice given by a girl to her lover, a Sepahi, who is about to leave her, and go to his home. She tells him that, as his abode is far up the mountains, he ought to ride thither. It is prolonged with a kind of yodel, of which few mountaineers are entirely ignorant.

SONG TO A SEPAHI, BY HIS MISTRESS.

CHUMBA.



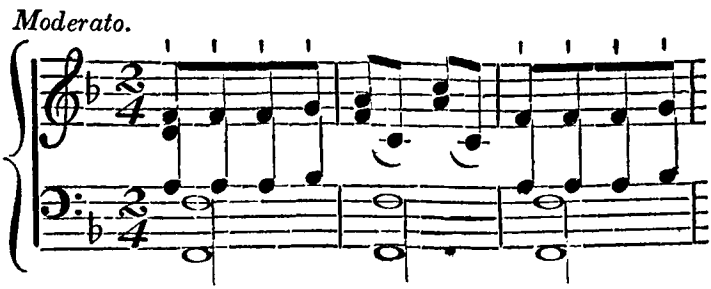


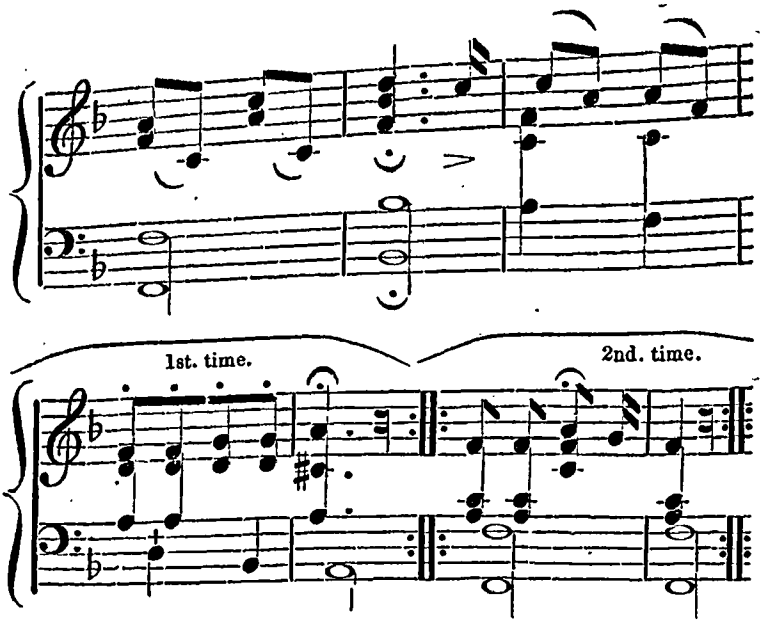
The Chumba national air is as follows. The words are very simple.

"Chumba dia Dhara! Chumba dia Dhara!
Ponda puara, Chumba dia Dhara!
Chumba dia Dhara! Chumba dia Dhara!
Mira mun Chumba dia Dhara."

"The mountains of Chumba! The mountains of Chumba!
The mist falls on the mountains of Chumba!
The mountains of Chumba! The mountains of Chumba!
My mind is in the mountains of Chumba."

NATIONAL AIR OF CHUMBA.





I have been twice ferried over the Ravi at Bisuli; once during the rainy season, when it was swelled to a roaring torrent, and once again in the winter, when its stream was far more tranquil. On both occasions the natives made the passage upon buffalo hides. Its width is about eighty yards.

Bissuli contains a large but slovenly-looking bazaar; and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palace of the old Rajahs, which I thought the very finest building of the kind that I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and moat-like tank in front, presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red brick

structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jamu, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower range, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst, with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position incomparably superior.

When I first passed through Bisuli I found that the Rajah was dead. I was not of course allowed to enter the place; but the Rani, his widow, paid me the compliment of sending me some fruit. Bisuli, when I passed through it in February 1839, was under the dominion of Suchyt Singh, the Rajah of Ramnagur; the boundary-line between his territory and that of his brother, Rajah Gulab Singh, of Jamu, occurring at a few miles to the westward of Bisuli.

Upon leaving Bisuli, and, in fact, throughout the whole of the country lying at the foot of the Panjabi Himalaya, my journey towards Kashmir lay through what might be called a valley, or rather a succession of valleys, or what is known there as a "Dhûn," where a low but picturesque ridge usually bounded the whole distance on the left, whilst on the right arose the green and beautiful slopes of the lower ranges. Lofty hillocks of sandstone and alluvium, covered with a forest of firs,* alternated with the deep, wide, and stony ravine, down which the sparkling rivulet, yet in its infancy, was struggling to add one drop more to the waters of the classic Indus, or the loud torrent,

* Pinus longifolia.

swelled by a storm, was rushing along with a violence that rendered its passage a service of the greatest difficulty, even on horseback. The pathway,—displaying in many places the vestiges of a pavement made, I believe, by the Mogul Emperors, during the golden days of Delhi and Kashmir,—wound amongst the hollows and eminences of the jungle; at one time direct, even, and such as could be ridden on; at another, I was obliged to give up my horse into the care of my Sais, or native groom, in order that he might be led in safety over the moistened and slippery declivity of the bared rock; and then again a short extent of greensward, or the depth and rapidity of an unbridged stream, would tempt or compel me to remount.

The view was thus incessantly changing. The landmark of any description that I had noticed in the distance was often lost when I sought for it from the opposite side of the dell; one mountain-top was quickly hidden by another, and the recess was often shut up by some unforeseen but nearer object. A view such as I had reason to expect, would not always be seen from the summit of an inviting ridge, and, on the contrary, after passing over a foreground of less promise, I would suddenly emerge upon a prospect of startling and extensive magnificence. The place of exit from the hills of one or other of the Panjab rivers could generally be pointed out to me; the straths and gorges that opened upon the plains would often afford a peep into the interior of the mountains, and the snowy ranges would be seen at the end of them. From one place the crests of the Palum Himalaya sank down upon the horizon behind me, or those of Chumba and Budrawar were

extended in front, or the isolated Brihma was hiding itself amongst the distant clouds of Kishtawar.

The noble Trekotar, frowning over the castle of Rihursi, and the debouchure of the Chunab, would now become conspicuous, on account of its triple summit, and an elevation far exceeding what is usual amongst the lower hills upon the borders; and the southern portion of the snowy Panjal of Kashmir would now come in sight, bounding the prospect to the northward, and circling, like a mighty wall, around the celebrated valley beyond it, where

> "Summer, in a vale of flowers,
> Lay sleeping rosy at its feet."

Upon the more lofty divisions of the long, extended ridges of sandstone that crept along the plain parallel to the lower range, at a varying distance of five, ten, or fifteen miles, were frequently to be seen the ruins of an ancient fortress, originally the residence of some chieftain, who probably owned no authority but that of the Moguls; or the less picturesque but somewhat more scientifically built strongholds of the Sikhs, with towers, curtains, loopholes, and embrasures, an inaccessible precipice beneath them, with a thick jungle or a torrent at its foot.

The country had frequently been cleared to a very considerable extent, and large open spaces in the valleys were occupied by numerous corn-fields and rice-grounds, continued in plateaux up the slope, in order to obtain the benefit of irrigation from the descending stream. The residence of the Zemindar, or farmer, would often consist of a group of two or three cot-

tages, built of mud and stones, and wood and bambus, in some places flat-roofed, in others thatched with rice straw, and so neatly as to remind me of England. The path that led to them was often enclosed by hedgerows, and the dwelling was thus surrounded by a thick profusion of cactus, milk plants, byr apple (or jujube), acacias, plantains, and bambus. Conspicuous topes or clusters of the larger trees were scattered over the country; the sacred pipul* marked the locality of the Devi, or Hindu shrine; the cattle chewed the cud in security around it; the dark green and massive foliage of the mango-trees threw a perpetual and grateful shade upon the village and the village well; whilst the banian, so beautifully described by Milton,† dropped its dusty and fantastic branches within the clefts and interstices of the antiquated masonry by which the latter was so often encircled.

But the indications of collective dwelling were not to be gathered only from the eye; for as I approached it I frequently heard a loud and discordant sound of voices in advance of me, and soon found that it proceeded from a dozen or two of old women, who were drawn up in line, linked together by their arms thrown around each other's necks, and who in this manner screamed forth (I cannot call it singing) a chorus, the words of which, I believe, contained a greeting to the passing stranger, and an appeal to his humanity for relief.

Leopards, bears, wolves, porcupines, the gurul, or chamois of the Himalaya, and the kakur, or barking deer, are more or less common in different districts on

* Ficus religiosa. † Paradise Lost, ix. 1105.

the march, and the silence of the jungul would occasionally be broken by the howling of the jackal, the barking of the little grey fox, the screaming of a bird of prey, the energetic cackle of the chikor, or red-leg, the harsh, regular notes of the black partridge, the joyous call of the grey,* or the far-sounding cry of the wild peacock. The snorting of the horses, and the tinkling of the little bells that form the fringe of his harness, would sometimes give notice of the approach of an elephant; and occasionally a group of Hindu peasants, clad in their holiday garments, dyed with huldi,† or turmeric, or kasumba,‡ some walking, others mounted upon camels and horses, would be singing, shouting, and laughing, on their way to a marriage feast or a neighbouring fair. I often encountered others whose costume and appearance betokened a longer travel—the performance of a religious vow at the shrine of a favourite Devi, or a pilgrimage to Hurdwar, with the intention of returning thence with a portion of the all-cleansing waters of the sacred Ganges.

On the third day after leaving Bisuli, I passed the Oju river, which rises in the mountains of Ramnajur, and afterwards joins the Ravi in the plains; and, upon arriving at the petty Sikh fort of Samur Thung, the Maharajah Runjit Singh's Chobdar, or Silver Stick, being in attendance, I was surprised at being told by the commandant that he could not give me any Kulis, or otherwise assist me, without an order from the Ramnagur Rajah, Suchyt Singh. He was,

* Francolinus vulgaris et Pondecerianus.

† Curmuma longa, or turmeric.

‡ Carthamus tinctorius, or safflower.

in fact, an officer of Gulab Singh of Jamu, who, jealous of my passing through his country, and thinking it necessary to shew his power, had adopted this plan, in order to ascertain of what rank and consequence I was, and whether I was or not connected with the government, by trying how far the British political agent at Lodiana would interfere to assist and protect me.

I had never heard of Gulab Singh, and believed that all was right, although annoyed at finding that Runjit's old servant was of so little service to me under difficulties. I waited patiently for the remainder of a very rainy day; and slept in a wretched hovel in preference to a wet tent. At four o'clock the next day I thought myself lucky in being told that a messenger had arrived, and that I was to be allowed to proceed; and I wound up by innocently writing to Gulab Singh, telling him that I was quite sure the man had made a mistake, and that I hoped he would not punish him on my account. To this, in due time, an answer was returned, to the effect that Gulab Singh had graciously forgiven the man, in consequence of my application in his behalf.

From a village on the way I had a beautiful view of the country I had passed over, and on the next day arrived at Mohunkot. After I had forded its stream, already much swollen, it rose so rapidly that my baggage could not be brought across till the next day. Whilst resting myself in the shade in the village, a gardener, who said he had never seen a Feringhi, seated himself in the road opposite to me, and quietly commenced a conversation, saying that he had come to have a look at me, and presented me with some

vegetables, for fear I should be angry. I gave him a good rupi, and he went away much pleased. Soon afterwards he returned, presented me with another rupi—a bad one—said it was the one I had given him, and wanted me to change it.

The old castle of Mohunkote is finely situated, upon a sandstone rock which overhangs the town. A party of Sepahis, with lighted matchlocks, passed through the village at night, under orders, as they said, from Runjit, to destroy the fort. They entered it without opposition; and when I ascended thither the next morning, I found that the work of demolition had begun. They fired a salute from a single gun placed on the brow of the hill, in honour, as they were pleased to say, of my visit. The inspection of the fine old castle repaid me for the ascent. The Rajah (latterly a Fakir at Jewala Muki) and his family, had departed; but whether they had not long since been driven out, and whether the lighted matchlocks, and the knocking down a few old walls, and the salute, had not been all ordered by Gulab Singh, in order to impress me with an idea of his power, has been, whenever I have given the affair a thought, a matter of the greatest doubt.

It was, I think, on the path below Samur Thung and Mohunkote, that I saw a bare and lofty trunk of a fir-tree, with a fine young pipul-tree growing from its summit.

Mansa is a small but very pretty lake, surrounded by low hills, about a mile in length, and not quite half a mile in width; but I was told that it was very deep. The fish in it were said to be small; but some large tortoises were swimming about in security, near

the Devi's temple. It is considered a very holy place, and Hindus come from afar to perform their ablutions in its waters. I saw a young Hindu and his wife, with their clothes fastened together, walking round the lake, he going first, and she following at two or three yards' distance. I was told that they were desirous of having a family, and that they were walking so many times round the lake, in performance of a vow, and in order to propitiate the Devi of the place. Mánsa is an abbreviation of Manása, the mind-born, and Sarovara, or Sara, a lake; *i. e.* the lake produced by the mind or will of Brahma, the creator. Of the same name, "Mánsarovar," is the great lake visited by Mr. Moorcroft, whence the Indus takes its rise.

I was here joined by a Munshi of Rajah Gulab Singh's, who had been sent thither by his master to attend upon me. I started the next morning for Jamu, and soon afterwards I obtained a fine view of the country lying at the foot of the Trekotar Devi, or three-peaked mountain. The snowy Panjals of Kashmir, though still distant, becoming grander and more effective every hour.

A very few miles farther I passed another little lake, whose beautiful islands, with palms and plantains dipping their broad leaves in the water, formed a perfect foreground to the splendid landscape beyond it. A steep descent occurred soon after leaving it; and I do not remember that there was any thing peculiarly observable from the remainder of the path, which wound amongst a succession of low alluvial hills and cliffs, and crags of sandstone, till within a few miles of Jamu. Gulab Singh had sent me a jonpán (or chair upon poles supported on men's shoulders)

in case I should be fatigued; but I preferred riding, and the jónpán itself was not, on account of its shabby appearance, such as he ought to have sent to me, as his own and his master's guest. After fording the torrent of the Taui (the word itself signifies, I believe, a torrent), whose sources are in the mountains north-east of Chinini, I arrived at Jamu, and found quarters assigned to me in a garden below the hill on which the palace is built.

Urjum Singh, Gulab Singh's eldest son, came down in the evening to pay me a visit. He seemed to have an inclination to corpulency, had regular features, but a round full face, and a heavy look. He is, nevertheless, said to be a young man of excellent abilities; but an assumed and stupid air of indifference was upon him during our interview; though I attempted, through the medium of my interpreter, to draw him out in conversation. He was lately killed, at the same time as No Nihal Singh, by the *accidental* fall of a beam in the gateway at Lahore.* It is often observable in the East that an imperturbable countenance, and apparent carelessness of what is going forward, do duty for greatness and dignity; and I have usually remarked that, amongst men in power, those who laugh and talk like Europeans, and are the least constrained in their deportment, are the best and most superior men.

* Runjit is supposed to have had only one child, a son, Kurruk Singh, who died soon after his father. No Nihal Singh, (the new stem, or tree, of the Sikhs) again, was the only child of Kurruk Singh. His young widow was *enceinte* at the time of his death, and her offspring, if a son, will be the rightful heir to the throne of the Panjab. Sher Singh, Maharajah *de facto*, is the eldest and favourite adopted son of Runjit.

Gulab Singh,* the present Rajah of Jamu, is the elder brother of the Rajahs Dhihan and Suchyt Singh, who were originally Meas, *i. e.* squires, or dependents, of the old Rajah's family at Jamu. Gulab Singh owes his first rise to his brother, Dhihan Singh, who, when his influence was fully established at the court of Lahore, found no difficulty in introducing him to the notice of the Maharajah, as already mentioned in my visit to Ghuzni and Afghanistan. Gulab Singh had quarrelled with the Rajah of Jamu, his rightful master, and entered into the service of the Rajah of Kishtawar, with whom he remained three years; but hearing that Runjit was preparing an expedition against Jamu, he went to him and offered his services. The Maharajah gave him a command, the old Rajah ran off, and Gulab Singh took possession of Jamu for Runjit, and then wrote to Tegh Singh, the Rajah of Kishtawar, informing him falsely that the Maharajah was going to send a force against him also. The latter and his people prepared for resistance, and sent an answer to say that they had done so. Gulab Singh then forged a paper, containing an invitation from the chief men in Tegh Singh's durbar to the Maharajah, as an encouragement to him to come forward and invade Kishtawar, and sent it with a note to the Rajah himself, in which he told him that he must be joking to talk of resistance, when the chief men of his country, who pretended to be his friends, were opposed to him. Upon this, Tegh Singh ordered two of his servants to assassinate his Vuzir, as he entered the durbar the next morning. They, how-

* The rose lion.

ever, only wounded him severely, and then the Rajah disowned the deed, and wrote to Gulab Singh, who advised him to put the Vuzir to death, as a punishment for his ingratitude, as well as out of regard to his own safety; and the letter further told him to leave his army, and come to Jamu alone, under the promise of an introduction to the Maharajah, who would secure him in possession of his dominions.

Tegh Singh, having been Rajah of Kishtawar for twenty-seven years, was deceived throughout, and repaired to Jamu with only a few followers, where he was kept for three months upon an allowance of 100 rupees (10*l.*) a day, which was afterwards reduced to ten; and in the meantime Gulab Singh got possession of Kishtawar without opposition, and then went to Runjit, and pointed out how much he had done for him; and his face, to use an Oriental phrase, became whiter for it in the sight of his master. The unfortunate Rajah then went to Lahore, where Runjit kept him for a long time without an audience. He appeared, however, in the Maharajah's presence at the festival of the Huli, and the sycophant Sirdars pretended to intercede in his behalf; upon which Runjit told him to be of good cheer, and threw a bottle of atar over him, and swore by the holy tank at Amritsir that he would reinstate him in his dominions. Gulab Singh, however, I was informed, bribed Tegh Singh's servant to poison his master for a reward of 10,000 rupees; and his death was effected by mixing the poison in a cup of sherbet. His two sons were with him when he died; they escaped to Lodiana, and the eldest joined Shah Shuja's unsuccessful expedition against Kábul in 1834; and when he was beaten,

wandered in the disguise of a Fakir through Kashmir, where I saw him; and thence again through the mountains to Lodiana. Such is the tale as it was told to me, and I have reason to believe it to be generally correct.

The next morning I ascended to the palace, by a long paved way that led up the hill. The town of Jamu is built upon the summit of the first wooded sloping ridge that rises from the plains of the Panjab, and at the place where it is divided by a narrow ravine, which allows an exit to the river Taui, in its way to its junction with the Chunab.

The town is upon the right bank of the ravine, and the white buildings of the palace, and of the fort, which is on the opposite side, are seen glistening in the sun, from a great distance in the plains.

I do not know exactly the population of Jamu: it contains a good bazaar, numerous streets, and, perhaps, 7000 or 8000 people.

The court-yard of the palace was alive with the crowds of officers and attendants, gorgeously apparelled in red and yellow shawls and silks, and armed with spears, swords, shields, and matchlocks. Two guns were discharged close to me just as I entered, by way of salute; and Gulab Singh received me in the open pillared hall of the palace, and excused himself for not having called upon me, by saying that he had caught a rheumatism and stiffness in the limbs, in consequence of having been with Runjit to Peshawur; all of which he supposed I should believe, as well as the assertion which he shortly afterwards made, that his ancestors had reigned at Jamu for 5000 years!

He afterwards asked me whether it was true that

the King of France paid tribute to the King of England, and some other questions equally absurd, by way of ascertaining whether I was disposed to deceive him. He exhibited his arms and discussed their various merits. Amongst them were some bell-mouthed blunderbusses, one of which he loaded and fired in the usual manner. It cannot be rested against the shoulder, as it carries a heavy charge, but it is held low, at arm's length, by both hands, one grasping the barrel and the other the stock, so that it may swing as it recoils; the right leg being kicked up behind, in a very ridiculous manner, at the same time. The Rajah fired, and thinking that he had astonished me, looked at me for applause, spoke of the number of men that such a weapon could wound at the same time, and seemed a little disconcerted at my not expressing great wonder.

Gulab Singh has made himself feared by his cruelty and tyrannical exactions, but affects to be tolerant and liberal in his religious opinions; Jamu is, accordingly, the only place in the Panjab where the Mulahs may call the Musulmans to prayers. Runjit had forbidden them to do so; but Gulab Singh, his powerful vassal, allowed them to ascend the minars of Jamu, in the exercise of their vocation. A pious Brahmin, or Sikh, having complained that the Mulah's cry disturbed his devotions, Gulab Singh told him that he would order him to desist, if the applicant would take the trouble to collect his flock for him.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure for Kashmir—Mountain Passes—Castle of Ramnagur—Rajah's Palace—Singular Turn-out—The Rajah—Loss of a Favourite—Splendid View—Majestic Mountain—A Learned Pundit—The Astrologer at Fault—Chinini—Gulab Singh—An Ex-Rajah—Plains of the Panjab—English Scenery—The Pir Panjal Mountains—Sporting in the Junguls—Hawking—Budrawar—Rival Rajahs—Runjit Singh—Trade in Corn—A Witch—Chumba—Cretinism in the Panjab—Its Cure—Alpine Bridge—Fearful Passage—Dodah—Woodcock—The Leopard's Leap—A Lever Bridge—"Immortal Smash"—Sacred Image—Mountain Villages—Kishtawar—Mountain Torrents—Changes of Rulers—Rapacity of the Sikhs—Noble Tree—Sacred Shrine and Idol—Natural History—The Chunab—Snakes—Bite of the Cobra—Mountain Passes—A Narrow Escape—Mountain Village—Singular Story—Hot Spring—Noble Tree—Pass into Kashmir.

CHAPTER VI.

I LEFT Jamu to proceed *viâ* Aknúr and Rajawur to Kashmir; but must first retrace my steps to Mohunkot, in order to proceed with my readers to Ramnagur, Dodah, Budrawar, Kishtawar, and, in fact, through all the country I traversed after leaving Kashmir by the Muru-wurdwur pass, the greater part of which had not, I believe, been previously visited by any European traveller. I will then notice the Banihal and Kuru passes to Kashmir, starting again from Jamu and proceeding thither *viâ* Rihursi, and again return to Jamu in order to travel towards the valley by Aknúr and Rajawur.

The eastern division of the sand-stone range that bounds the plain of Bulu Altur on the south, is cut through by the Taui in its way towards Jamu, and then circles through the country to the northward and eastward, until it joins the snowy mountains of Budrawar. It is crossed by two passes; one over the snow (in winter), which is the more direct way from Ramnagur to Bisuli; the summit of the other occurs about six miles on the south-west of Ramnagur. The latter path is paved for the whole distance, which much facilitates the traverse of the difficult ravines by which it is intersected.

Ramnagur is about fourteen miles from the Taui,

and is built amongst numerous and regular sandstone ranges, whose formation appears to have been the necessary consequence of the upraising of the higher mountains, rather than the result of force acting directly upon themselves. Between the Taui and Ramnagur, in particular, they dip usually at an angle of about forty-five degrees, with a steep abutment on the north: at regular intervals, and with so uniform a direction, that, from one point of view, I was again reminded of the retiring crests of a heavy ocean-swell.

The mydan, or open space, on which Ramnagur is situated, is washed by a stream which flows from the north-east, and joins the Taui on the rice-plains of Bulu-Altur. The square-built and turreted castle stands on one side of the flat, and opposite to it a few hundred yards distant, is the new palace of the Rajah Suchyt Singh. It is a picturesque and baronial-looking edifice, its appearance being by no means heavy, although it is chiefly composed of blank walls and square towers, of unequal height and size. At either end of the façade is an open saloon, fitted up with mirrors, in the true Oriental style, and one of these opened into the Rajah's sleeping apartment, which was also splendidly ornamented with looking-glasses, and a few of the latest and most passionate productions of the French print-shops, that had, somehow or other, found their way into the Rajah's possession.

Ramnagur fell into the hands of the Sikhs about the same time that Gulab Singh became master of Jamu. The old Rajah fled to Subathu near Simla, and died there about eight years ago, much regretted by his subjects. Suchyt Singh was made

Rajah of Ramnagur by Runjit. He is much better disposed towards the English than either of his brothers, against whose overbearing disposition he is said to kick a little. I wrote to him, for he was absent at the time, to thank him for the kind reception I experienced at Ramnagur. I shall never forget the turn-out to meet me. I came upon the mydan by torch-light, and should think that at least 500 or 600 (a large proportion of the population) were assembled then. But the crowd was a curiosity, in consequence of the variety of costume which composed it; and the lights gleamed upon the dark features of the Hindus, the turbaned Patan, the ferocious Khyberi, and the Kuzzilbash wearing the lamb-skin caps of Persia, who were all armed to the teeth: and amongst these foreigners were the native mountain Sepahis in the Rajah's pay, conspicuous by their high caps and belts of leopard skin. Wild hogs in search of food, and enjoying, by command of the Rajah, who preserved them for his own sport, an immunity from molestation, were moving about in the crowd, or retreating before the *cortège* that accompanied me into the town to the quarters assigned to me, where I found provisions for myself and servants.

A large bazaar and several streets were being then built at Ramnagur. When Suchyt Singh first became Rajah, he found its prosperity to be somewhat on the wane, and had wisely continued the work of its re-establishment, by the formation of new and comfortable places of abode; and hoping, moreover, to render them attractive, and to increase the population as much as possible, he had made Ramnagur a city of refuge for

runaways, who had been guilty of no greater crimes than murder or slight political offences.

I arrived at Ramnagur, from Chinini, on the 26th of January, 1839, when I was on my way to Lodiana for the last time; and the calm gratification I experienced was not a little dashed by the death of my favourite horse, who had caught a violent cold, succeeded by inflammation, which we were unable to stop. He was presented to me by Ahmed Shah, of Little Tibet, when I first met him on the plains of Deó-Tsuh. The name he brought with him was Nila, or the "Grey." He was a well-bred, well-shaped, though somewhat lengthy horse, about fifteen and a half hands, bred in Budukshan, and purchased by Ahmed Shah of a travelling dealer, who had entered Tibet from Yarkund. I had ridden him in my travels, both in the plains and amongst the mountains, for the last four years, or nearly; we had been excellent friends together, and now, the only return I was enabled to make to the poor brute for carrying me so long and so safely, was to secure him, if possible, from the jackals, by seeing him buried very deeply, and bushing the earth that covered him, before I departed on the next morning.

Jaghán is a village, with a castle near the bank of the Taui, and on the western frontier of the province of Ramnagur, which extends as far as Chinini on the north, and on the eastward to Bisuli (I believe), inclusive, and the frontiers of Chumba. I do not know its exact limits to the southward. As to revenue, it is almost idle to talk about it in these countries; its amount depends upon the will of the ruler, and a traveller rarely hears the right story.

I had descended the valley of the river from Chinini, and slept at Bari, near its debouchure on the plain. The day's march had been a long one, but not otherwise fatiguing. The plain extends from the Chunab at Rihursi to the Taui at Jaghán, and is bounded towards the south by the ridge of sandstone, already mentioned in the description of the paths to Ramnagur; on the southern side of which ridge there is again an open space, similar to that of Bulu Altur, and divided only from the plains of the Panjab by the elevated slope on which Jamú is situated.

After a severe mountain march, of a month's duration, I could not but feel refreshed at the sight of such an extent of flat and cultivated land. Two picturesque castles were in sight; the majestic Trekotar was frowning over the greenest of prospects; and, shortly before I descended upon Bari, the snowy ridge of the Brihmah, near Kishtawar, was pointed out to me, which, by a fortunate disposition of the intervening summits, I was thus enabled to look upon at a distance of seventy miles in the interior of the mountains.

As I approached Jaghán, the commandant of the castle, and some other Sikhs, came down the steep bank on which it is built, in order to give me a welcome; and their plumes and gorgeous dresses of brocade and shawl were seen to great advantage as they descended the ravine that led towards the river. I found a very neat village on the summit; and, in fact, throughout the whole of Suchyt Singh's country a change for the better was observable. I slept at a farmhouse, about three miles on the way to Ramnagur, where I accidentally found the Rajah's chief Pundit, who happened to halt there for the night. In the course of

conversation, he said that he was an astrologer, that the Rajah always consulted him before he went to the chase, and that he always foretold the name of the best place, and the quantity of game, with great certainty. I asked him to make a calculation of my sport by the path-side for the morrow, which he did. Whatever he might know as an astrologer, he certainly knew nothing of the country as a sportsman, as he limited me to a brace of black partridges, and added that there were no quail in the neighbourhood. I saw plenty of quail, and found no black partridges.

Chinini is a large and neat village, overlooked by the old palace—if it deserve such a name—of its legitimate Rajahs. The river Taui has its sources in the mountains to the eastward of it, and comes rattling down the ravine, which conducts its stream to the foot of the eminence on which the village is built, and afterwards it flows, in a straight course, towards the plain, which is about seventeen miles distant.

The territories of the Chinini Rajah extended from Dodhera on the northward, and southward to the village of Bari. He assisted Gulab Singh in his conquest of Kishtawar, and was rewarded by the latter taking possession of his country, and treating him so harshly, that, after residing for some time in the mountains, he was obliged to throw himself under the protection of Runjit, whose interference procured him permission to reside in his own house at Chinini without further molestation; and Rajah Suchyt Singh, who succeeded to his authority, exchanged turbans with him, in token of confidence and friendship. I expressed a wish to call upon the old Rajah, but was told by Gulab Singh, an officer who here joined me, that he was unwell. This

was most likely an untruth: they did not wish him to see me, as he would certainly, in common with all who had the opportunity, have complained to me of the tyranny of the Sikhs, and have requested me to be the bearer of overtures to the British Government.

I well remember descending upon Chinini, in my way homeward, after my last journey to Little Tibet. I had not seen the plains of the Panjab for the greater part of the year, and it was evening when they first suddenly burst upon my sight from the summit of the pass. They were still seven days' march distant beyond the intervening slopes and ridges that were based upon them. So blue, so utterly boundless to the southward, did they appear, that they might have been mistaken for the ocean, had not the silvery windings of the Taui shewed them to be of *terra firma*. Instead of a defined line, a misty indistinctness was blended over the sky and earth at the place of separation, and I halted to enjoy a prospect that my fancy presented as something like a substantial emblem of infinity. Meanwhile the horizon became every instant more and more distinct, beneath the unclouded rays of an Asiatic setting sun: he sank slowly as the earth rose to meet him, and disappeared after lighting up a scene of extent and gorgeous brilliancy which seemed to be not of this world, and of which those who have only beheld him, as "in northern climes, obscurely bright," can form but little idea.

The mountains of Dodhera may be between eight and nine thousand feet above the sea, and are covered with snow in winter; that above Chinini is made picturesque by its fir-forest; the summit of the other is bare. A hollow, where there is a Sikh custom-house,

lies between them, and slopes down to the great valley of the Chunab, which comes in sight from either. From the top of the northernmost pass there is a fine view of the Pir Panjal mountains surrounding Kashmir. The castle of Dodah appears like a speck up the valley of Chunab; the situation of Harawug Castle, on the way from Banihal to Rihursi, was pointed out to me, and the Brihmah mountain is nowhere, I imagine, seen to greater advantage.

It is now necessary to follow up the left bank of the Chunab, in order to reach Dodah on the third day, and Budrawar on the fourth, from the northern foot of Dodhera. The path was not bad, but the ravines were numerous, and some of the ascents and descents were very severe; but the grandeur and beauty of the scenery, and an occasional shot at a red-legged partridge or a jungul-fowl, contributed not a little to decrease the fatigue. I once saw a hen monal or Impeyan pheasant near the path-side.

It is better to visit Budrawar and then return to Dodah. The distance from the junction of its river with the Chunab at the latter place is about twelve or fourteen miles. The hedgerows and more open country around a village on the way reminded me of a cultivated and hilly district in England. It was a famous place for the capture of hawks. I saw the nets with which they take them; they were set open like a schoolboy's sparrow-trap, and contained a live pigeon as a bait. The peregrine, the goshawk, or the sparrowhawk, which are commonly used in the East, might all be taken in this way.

Budrawar* lies in the midst of the prettiest country

* The stronghold of Buddha.

I had seen in the mountains, with the exception of Kashmir. My thermometer gave me an elevation of about 5000 feet. It is called Budrikar by the Kashmirians, and Budar by the natives of the hills. The path from Dodah is continually on an ascent on the left bank of the Budrawar stream, until it opens upon an amphitheatre whose lower grounds are covered with rice-fields, whilst the flats and easy slopes around it were much cultivated, thickly studded with villages, which were usually overshadowed by noble deodar-trees, and seemed to be altogether in a much better state than those I had usually seen in other parts of the mountains. For many years back the Rajahs of Budrawar, who were Rajputs, have paid a revenue to the Rajahs of Chumba. About twenty years ago, in the time of the last Rajah of Budrawar, the Rajah of Chumba thought fit to send an army under the command of his Vuzir, who took the castle of Budrawar and deposed the Rajah. A few years afterwards, Dysa Singh came, by order of Runjit, to Budrawar, and took the castle from the Vuzir. About the same time a force was also sent by him against the castle of Rilu, already noticed, and which then belonged to the Chumba Rajah. The Sikhs lost a great many men there; and, during the siege, the Vuzir went to Runjit and arranged with him that Rilu should be given up to him, on condition that his master, the Rajah of Chumba, might retain possession of Budrawar.

I thought the town was nearly twice as large as Kishtawar, and containing between two and three hundred houses. A great proportion of the population of all these mountain towns are Kashmirians,

who have fled thither to avoid the exactions of the Sikh governors of their native country.

The direction of the principal bazaar, or street, is southwesterly, and upwards toward the castle, which commands the town. It is a large square fort, chiefly built of large blocks of slate clay, that hardens by long exposure to the sun and air, and is found in the vicinity. It is altogether a stronger-looking place than most of the hill forts, but is commanded from the wooded eminences behind it.

Surrounded on all sides by mountains, and producing but little more than is necessary for seed and their own consumption, the inhabitants of such a place as Budrawar will not take the trouble to transport any surplus they may chance to have to other places, unless they are sure of some extraordinary profit. Upon one occasion, there being a scarcity at Bisuli, they carried too great a quantity of grain thither, and as it found its way into fifty other channels, and there being no reaction in favour of Budrawar, there was a scarcity at that place itself, in consequence of the ignorant and improvident conduct of its inhabitants.

The *ser* at Lodiana is equal to about 2 lbs. English, but it varies in different countries; in some places it is much less. I find in my note-book that the prices at this land-locked place were as follows:— Four ser of wheat flour, equal to 3 lbs. English, were usually sold for somewhat less than a penny; and three ser of rice and eight ser of barley were obtainable at the same price. A fine sheep could be purchased for a rupi; about 2*s*. English.

At Budrawar I saw an old woman, who had just been brought in as a witch, or Dyn. If any man in authority lie ill, and his disease does not yield to the use of medicine, search is made for any old woman whose feet turn inwards, and she is accused of being a witch, and her nose is perhaps cut off, or, perhaps, she is put to death. The poor creature was brought to me, at my request. A more witch-like expression I certainly never saw. She was terribly frightened at first, but became less so when she knew that I was interceding for her; and I succeeded in saving her from harm whilst I remained in the town. One of the punishments inflicted is branding on the forehead with a red-hot copper coin.

Budrawar Proper extends only from Dodah to the snowy range behind the former town. It does not lie in either of the principal paths through these mountains. Those who travel to Ladak do not pass through it, and it is visited only by itinerant pedlars and merchants, who supply the inhabitants of the hill districts with the produce of the plains. The bazaar seemed to be well supplied. It contained about two hundred and fifty shawl-looms, but their produce is of inferior quality. It is celebrated for the manufacture of very prettily carved combs, cut from the wood of the byr-apple, or jujube.

In the summer time Chumba may be reached in four or five days by a lofty pass over the surrounding mountains, and Bisuli is attainable in about the same time by another pass, called Chatru Dhar. Both were closed by snow when I was there in January 1839.

The inhabitants of the Alpine Panjab (I am not now speaking of Kashmir) are generally Hindus.

They are a well-made and active race, shorter and stouter than the inhabitants of the plains, handsomer in their features, lighter in complexion, and milder and more obliging in their manners. Their language, which is a *patois*, or dialect of Hindustani, varies, I was informed, very considerably in different places. I do not think that goître can be said to be common amongst them, generally speaking; whole districts seemed to be quite free from it; and the instances of cretinism that came under my notice were certainly not numerous. The existence of these evils was attributed to the quality of the water; but it was almost entirely confined to those who breathed the malaria of the jungul at the foot of the lower mountains that bordered on the plains. The waters of Kashmir are chiefly produced from limestone mountains, but the air is extremely pure, and goître is very rare in the valley. The use of burnt sea-weed (which, I need not add, contains iodine) in the cure of goître, appears to have been long known to the Chinese; and I have myself purchased, I think it was at Ladak, a piece of common sea-weed, which had been, no doubt, brought there by the merchants trading between China and Turkistan.

From Budrawar I retraced my steps towards Dodah, following down the course of the stream to its junction with the Chunab. The deep and rocky channel of the latter river was crossed by the most fearful-looking of all the fearful-looking bridges that I saw in the Himalaya. The precipices must have been about sixty yards apart, and the elevation of the bridge above the torrent must have been from fifty to sixty feet.

These suspension-bridges are of two kinds; one, such as that at Dodah, is thus composed: a strong cable is tightly stretched across from one side of the river to the other, and fixed firmly in the rock at both ends. Upon this slides a wooden framework, somewhat resembling the seat of a swing; to this are attached other ropes, by which it is pulled backwards and forwards across the river. The other kind is walked over. A very thick cable, composed of several others, of twisted birch-twigs, is suspended from one side to the other; this forms a narrow support to the feet of the passenger, being not more than seven or eight inches in width; but being roughly woven, the projecting ends of the twigs prevent the foot from slipping. On either side of this, about four feet above it, and so wide apart that a person stepping on the large cable can hold one in either hand, is suspended another rope of the same material, and these two again are connected with the large cable by side-ropes, fastened at regular intervals of about a yard. There is little need of the caution given by the natives to hold tight when on the sliding bridge, or to feel that one foot is firmly placed before the second is advanced when walking across the other. Some persons require to be lashed on the seat, and are then suddenly launched from the rock, with their hearts in their mouths, their eyes bandaged, and their teeth clenched. The crossing of the baggage is extremely troublesome, as every parcel is separately passed over. I never saw a single accident, and its tediousness is the worst part of its operation.

The small plain on which Dodah stands is elevated above the Chunab, and was verdant with cultivation of

young wheat and barley when I saw it in the month of January. It is a pretty and lively-looking town, larger than Kishtawar, and contains a better bazaar. The scenery around it is very grand. A very neat castle, of the usual square form, with towers at the angles, has been built by the Sikhs, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the town, and close to the precipitous bank of the Chunab. Hindu worshipping-places, ancient and modern, are common at Budrawar, Dodah, Kishtawar, and, in fact, throughout the whole of the mountains.

Dodah had always been under the dominion of the Rajahs of Kishtawar, but fell with it under that of Gulab Singh. The course of the Chunab is visible from a great distance from it, as far as the country of Deng, on the Banihal Pass to Kashmir; and about three miles below the town is the commencement of a valley, through which there is a path that joins that of Banihal, to be reached by a foot-man in three or four days.

The river from Budrawar joins the Chunab a little on the north of the town of Dodah. I killed a woodcock there, of the common European species. I have him now stuffed in England. As a sportsman, I was much pleased with such an acquisition. The natives called it simply the Jel Kukur, or water-fowl, and said that it breeds in the jungle, near the snow, but is not very common. I had seen two in Kashmir, but had killed neither. They are not uncommon in the mountains between Simla and the snowy range, and are found, as is well known, in the Nilgheri hills, near Madras.

The path still follows up the banks of the Chunab

as far as Kishtawar. Wild olives and pomegranates were common in the jungul, and sweet limes and bitter oranges were procurable in the villages. The Chikor were very abundant.

Bursala Devi, the next station but one, is a village, containing a Hindu shrine of some reputation in the country. In the summer-time there is a way to Budrawar, across the mountains, on the opposite side of the valley; and at an angle of the river, a little above Bursala Devi, it is joined by a stream that flows from the mountains of Budrawar.

The name of the country just traversed between Dodah and Kishtawar is Mahabul. Kishtawar begins at the Seh Ghat, or "the Leopard's Leap,"—so named from some tradition which I do not remember. A lever bridge of the boldest conformation, and remarkably well built, has been thrown across the rocky chasm which forms the bed of the Chunab at this place; and a long, steep, and fatiguing ascent of 2000 feet begins immediately after it is passed. The river, about seventy yards in width, appears to have worn its way through two perpendicular walls of gneiss, for a depth of about sixty feet; and the bridge is supported on fourteen levers projecting on either side, the uppermost of the tier stretching out to a quarter of the whole distance. The whole is of Deodar, and the centre is composed of two huge timbers, whose ends rest upon the levers, which are merely retained in their places by an immense weight of broken rock. It bent considerably under the weight of even a few baggage-carriers. It was constructed in 1836, by order of Gulab Singh of Jamu, three hundred men being employed upon it, and the produce of their

efforts twice went to "immortal smash" in the torrent; but I think the present bridge will long remain to attest the skill and perseverance of its architect.

The town of Kishtawar cannot be reached in one day from the bridge. I slept at the village containing a celebrated devi, or Hindu idol, known by the name of Atara Buzu,* or the goddess with eighteen arms. I was permitted to look at her through an open window. The face was of the ordinary size, and black, the body covered with a petticoat; but there was nothing at the shrine to repay the fatigue of the ascent, although her authority is acknowledged throughout all the hill country as far as the plain of the Panjab, and is respected even at Lahore. The Hindus say that the idol was a stone miraculously licked into shape by a cow.

Kishtawar is seven miles distant in a straight line, but the path is a very severe one, and preserves an average elevation of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above the river. The scenery is very grand and picturesque. Villages and patches of cultivation are here and there conspicuous, at all imaginable variety of heights, aspects, and position; the banks are every where precipitous; the streams are torrents; and the mountain-tops, covered with clouds and snow, are often seen to the greatest advantage from some open or more elevated spot in the thick and constant forest, composed of the oak and holly-oak that so much and generally abounded.

The path at length brings the traveller in sight of the plain and town of Kishtawar, called Kartawar by

* Parbuti, or Pahar Vati, the mountain-born wife of Siva.

the Kashmirians. The former is about two miles in width and five in length, and by thermometer, and the opinion I could form by the fall of Chunab, should be a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet higher than that of Budrawar, which is about 5000 feet above the sea. Its soil rests upon a substratum of gneiss, as is visible from an inspection of the bed of the Chunab, which traverses the western side of the plain in a rocky bed lying a thousand feet below it. The mountains which tower on every side are coated with oaks and hollies; whilst their summits are covered with snow and fir-trees, and justify, by their influence on the climate, the assertions contained in the following hill distich, by which their neighbours, the Kashmirians, have endeavoured to ridicule the poverty of the place:—

Kishtawar, kusht ka bunda,
Din-ko bhuka, rât ko tunda
Ju ka ae, phir ko jae,
Wuh hee gosain ka jhunda.

"Kishtawar is the causeway of distress, where people are hungry by day and cold by night: whoever comes there, when he goes away is as meagre as the flagstaff of a fakir."

Several streams come tumbling down to the river from a very great elevation. I observed one in particular, opposite the town, with a shooting fall of many hundred feet, and which, when swelled by the melting of the snows, must be a cascade of no ordinary magnitude. Villages are scattered over the plain, and are usually surrounded by hedgeless fields, raised in plateaux, and irrigated by the little streams that flow over it from the eastward; and wheat, barley, and rice, are cultivated upon them. In spite of the above

written lines, the saffron of Kashmir is, I was informed, inferior in quality to that of Kishtawar; and apples, pears, peaches, apricots, and quinces, are fine, and tolerably abundant.

The condition of the city of Kishtawar is not that of the times of its rightful Rajah, who claimed, in common with the maleks of Shahbad in Kashmir, a descent from Nurshivan, king of Persia, and whose grandfather was the first Musalman Rajah of the country. The Mogul Emperors were kindly disposed towards the Rajahs of Kishtawar, gave them jaghirs, or grants of land, in Kashmir, which they possessed till the time of the Sikhs. Abdallah Khan, who, as governor of the valley, made himself independent of his master, Timur Shah, the Amir of Kabul, took Budrawar, and gave it to the Rajah of Kishtawar. The frontier of the latter province was at one time extended to that of Ladak, by the possession of Muruwurdwun and Suru. It was taken possession of by Gulab Singh of Jamu, in the manner already mentioned. The oppression and rapacity of the Sikhs have reduced the revenue to a paltry amount of a few thousand rupees per annum.

The Rajah's house is surrounded by a fort, used also as a prison. I saw the prisoners outside the walls, but heavily ironed; and observing a fine-looking man amongst them, I directed my munshi to inquire who he was. He turned out to be a Rajah of Kasali, or of some other country between Púnch and the Jylum, whose name I forget, but who had been taken prisoner and confined there by Gulab Singh for having resisted his authority. The building in the Shalamar, a favourite garden of the old Ra-

jah's, and situated in a cool and well-shaded ravine on the eastward of the town, was razed to the ground by the Sikhs, and all pains were taken to remove any objects that were likely to cherish the recollection of the former dynasty.

The town now consists of about a hundred small houses, or rather cottages, not roofed like those of Kashmir, but flat-topped, and of one story generally, and composed of wood, loose stones, and a plaster of mud. Fruit-trees were planted amongst them. The principal street is occupied by the bazaar, and contained fifteen or twenty looms for the manufacture of shawls of inferior quality. Coarse woollen blankets were also made there. The language of Kishtawar is not that of Kashmir, and much resembles, I believe, that of the Simla hills.

Near the town, on the northern side, is the finest *deodar* (or as it is here called, the Devidar *), or hill-cedar, that I had ever seen. At four feet from the ground it measured twenty-three feet in circumference, and resembled a beautiful pillar, having less diminution of girth in proportion to its height than I ever saw in any tree. Its trunk, from the ground to the place where it appeared to have been damaged by wind or lightning, and abruptly broken off, was not more than seventy or eighty feet in length.

The Musalman population of Kishtawar rather exceeds the number of the Hindus. The favourite Zearat, or shrine, of the former, stands about a quarter of a mile from the town, on the north, and close to the Chaughan ground, which I will afterwards notice.

* The tree of the divinities.

But the glory of the Hindus is a small black image of stone, about a mile and a half from the town, and known as the goddess with eight arms, two only being visible, as she was closely muffled up in clothes. In Europe—barring the absence of the cross—she might easily have been taken for a Roman Catholic image. In the number of her arms, the size of her person, and extent of her authority, she is less than the idol above the Leopard's Leap, whom in other respects she appeared closely to resemble, and, like her, represents the wife of Siva. I complied with the wish of the bystanders, that I should pull off my boots ere I entered the sacred edifice which contained the idol, in which, however, there was nothing to repay me for my trouble. Leopards, bears, jackals, foxes, hares, I suppose (but there are none of the latter in Kashmir), porcupines, eagles, vultures, falcons, kites, and hawks, are found in this part of the mountains.

The wild goat, called the *tehr** at Simla and Munsuri, is here known by the name of the *krás:* it is common upon the mountains of Kishtawar. The musk-deer is called the ronz; the gurul, or chamois, is called the pijur. The hanglu, or stag of Kashmir, is also said to be common on the western bank of the Chunab, and between that river and the Panjal. The scream of the pea-fowl is occasionally to be heard. The monal is called nil, or "the blue bird;" the hen is called the haum. A pheasant, which from description I take to be the argus of the Himalaya, is here called the hulal, and its hen is called munk. The Kalej pheasant is called the buklar, and at Bu-

* Capra quadrumammis.

drawur it is known as the prakulu. The jungul-fowl and the red leg are common. I was told that the Chunab contained but one kind of fish; I did not see it, but it is most probably the common Himalaya trout.

I was told that there are three kinds of snakes at Kishtawar, one of which is the cobra; that it is smaller than that of the plains, but its bite equally to be dreaded. The cure is attempted, as is usual in these countries, by *muntur*, or incantation; by drawing a circle of water around the wound, and the repetition of certain words.

The snowy mountains to the east of north from Kishtawar were pointed out to me as those of the pass of Mirbul, leading from Kashmir. If so, the town of Kishtawar, with the assistance of a good guide, may be seen from the top of the pass. Sunigám, the village on which the path descends on the Kishtawar side of it, lies nearly in the same direction.

Prosecuting the journey to the northward from the town, the edge of the plain is reached after a walk of two or three miles, and the paved path descends upon the Chunab at the point where it turns at right angles to the south, and where it is joined by the river from the defile of Muru-wurdwun. The Chunab is seen coming from the eastward, having apparently followed the direction of a deep fissure in the mountains. The rocks of gneiss and slate have been apparently worn by the action of the water to a depth of fifty feet; and, when not swollen by the rains, the river flows so tranquilly through this natural basin that it seems to be lying in a dock. It appears to be

very deep, and the swing bridge by which it is crossed is only twenty-five yards in length.

In looking eastward up the course of the river, lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow, are seen towering over its bank, and the range is probably continued up to a fort called Chatur Gurh, or Gulab Gurh.

It is a march of four days from Kishtawar to Duchin. The path has now quitted the Chunab and commences the ascent of the Muru-wurdwun river; still, however, preserving the same general and northerly direction by which it entered Kishtawar. It continues, of course, to be more elevated, and the region of oaks and hollies is succeeded by a pine forest. The glens and defiles are more narrow, the banks more rugged and precipitous, and plunge down from the very clouds upon the torrent which is generally the sole occupant of the level in the depths below. The paths are more difficult, and even dangerous, and in some few places are continued over the rock by means of wooden steps and scaffolding; sometimes descending to the edge of the torrent, and then again mounting to a vast height above it. I passed through these defiles in January 1839, and the snow was lying every where, but not very deep. In many places an avalanche had descended, and swept away, or filled up, every vestige of a path; so that it was a service of considerable danger for the first of the party, who had to tread down a way upon the side of the steep, smooth, and hardened plane of snow, left behind by the weight of the avalanche that had slipped over it. A man in attendance upon me, by order of Gulab Singh, would have fallen over a pre-

cipice of many hundred feet into the torrent, had he not, at the critical moment, contrived to hold on by a tuft of long dry grass; and at one place my foot slipped, and I was instantly sliding down the declivity, with a rapidity that must soon have deprived me of my senses; but providentially, after thus moving downwards for a space of about thirty-five or forty yards, I found myself safely lodged in the snow, on a projecting bank, into which the momentum I had acquired had plunged me up to the middle. My people were terribly frightened, but I scrambled up to the path again, a little astonished, but not hurt.

We sometimes saw the krás browsing upon different parts of the slopes, but never within shot, and usually in places where it would have been next to impossible to have followed them.

Duchin is a village in a country of the same name. The word signifies in Kashmiri, the right; but it is applied to the mountains on both sides of the river, from Muru to Kishtawar. The village lies in a small open cultivated space, of about a mile and a half in length, and three-fourths of a mile in width. Its cottages are mere log-houses. The river is here crossed by a swing bridge over a deep chasm, and its stream is much augmented by two others, one of which comes from a neighbouring defile, and the other has its source in a small lake on the Brimhah range.

I observed a snowy peak towering far above the others, and believe it to have been part of the Brimhah, though they told me it was not, as they did not wish me to attempt a visit to its base whilst the snow was on the ground. It is, however, a very lofty

range, covered with eternal snow, and visible from many of the highest passes in the country. I was told that at its foot is a wooden building which was once the residence of a fakir, who was determined to ascend to the summit. He often made the attempt, and, in fact, passed his whole life in doing so from time to time; and he usually reached the borders of the small lake, where he slept; but upon waking he invariably found himself near his starting place at the foot of the mountain; as if the gins and devis of the place were inclined to sport with his presumption, and had conveyed him back again while he slept.

It is a march of two days from Duchin to Muru, but the path is easier. Muru, and three or four other villages, stand in a more open country, which admits of a more extensive view. They are composed of only a few log-houses, inhabited by peasants, who gain a living by farming and tending their cattle. Muru contains a Sikh customhouse. A defile on the east leads to Zanskar, and I was told that in two days, by following it, I should arrive at a hot sulphureous spring.*

On the westward is a pass that leads to Sunigam and over the pass of Mirbul into Kashmir. I passed Christmas-day of 1838 in the attic of a log-house at Muru, where I was obliged to halt in consequence of a severe snow-storm.

The defile known by the names of Muru-Wurdwun, by the Kashmirians, and Wurun-Mundi by the Ladakis, is extended for two days' march from Muru to Wurdwun, another log-house village, at the foot

* *Vide* notice of passes to Ladak, page 163.

of the Nabognyh pass from Kashmir. It is the Murwar-Dhun of Abu Fuzl, who mentions it in the Ayin Akberi; but he notices it, as well as many other places, in such a manner as to convince me that he could never have seen them himself, but must have taken his account from hearsay.

Muru-Wurdwun is a narrow defile, whose sides are very steep, and covered with a jungle, chiefly of fir-trees. Soon after starting from the village to ascend to Wurdwun, I saw a great quantity of the tree called the "Chob-i-Pau." In general form it resembles a gigantic hazel or the ground-ash, having straight branches averaging about two and a half inches in diameter, and ten or fifteen feet in height. The leaf is a small one, but somewhat resembles that of the hazel in shape. Its fruit is in clusters of small nuts. Its wood is remarkable for its hardness, and is much used by the natives when that quality is required. In hardness and general appearance it much resembles box, though somewhat darker in colour. Messrs. Rudall and Rose, of Covent Garden, have made a very finely toned flute from the wood which I brought to England with me. I should think that it would make an excellent lance-wood. The best kind of tent pegs are made from it, as they do not split under the mallet; and they can be made so thin as scarcely to occupy more than half the space of those made from other wood. The Chob-i-Pau* (chob signifies wood in Persian) is very common in the straths and mountain-sides at the western end of Kashmir; but I do not remember to have seen it in the eastern. I found it

* The Chob-i-Pau is, I am told, a fothergillia.

in the Budrawur, but nowhere to the south of Dodah. The elevation at which it grows is between 5500 and 4400 feet; and, as far as I can judge, I should say that a circle whose opposite poles were placed upon the two last-mentioned places would embrace the entire region in which I should expect to find it.

Gneiss and mica slate, and a silicious grit, are the formation in the defile of Muru-Wurdwun. Wurdwun is a small village, composed, like the others in this part of the mountains outside of Kashmir, of log-houses. The loftiest ridges, partially covered with a fir-forest, rise around it; and immediately in front of it begins the ascent of the Nabog-Nyh pass to Kashmir (12,000 feet). The stream that passes it comes, I believe, from Suru: its volume indicates a course of two or three days from the northward; and at the place where it joins the Chunab, above the town of Kishtawar, it is so much increased by other streams, that its waters form a very considerable addition to the latter river.

Suru and Perkuchi are to be reached in a few days, by proceeding northward up the valley of the Muru-Wurdwun stream: thence there is a way to Ladak, *viâ* Kulutzi, on the Indus.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER VII.

Pass into Kashmir—Plants of the Jungle—The Trekotar Devi Mountain—Castle of Rihursi—Timber Rafts on the Chunab—Summit of the Pass—English Terrier—Road made by Gulab Singh—His Designs on Kashmir—Frightened Beauties—Wild Animals of the Jungle—The Springs of Deng—Fine View—Castle of Harawug—Departure from Jamu for Jarawur—Sport—Black Partridges—Ruined Palace—Native Huts—Singular Scene—The Village Well—Varied Assemblage—A Living Skeleton—Rajah's Palace—Cobra de Capello—Elephant in a Torrent—Meeting with the Rajah—Visit to the Rajah's Palace—Cross Questioning—Indo-English—Rajah of Rajawur—Territory of Rajawur—Native Pointer—Hot Spring—Unorthodox Cure for Cholera—Plains of the Panjab—Villages of the Panjab—Fort in the Panjab—Huri Singh: a Visit to him—Baron Hugel—The Use of the Sword—Astonishing Cuts with an Oriental Sword—Vuzirabad—The Pir Panjal—Bhimbur—Castle of Amur Gurh—Ex-Rajah of Bhimbur—Jungle Vegetation—Horrible Cruelty of Gulab Singh.

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING now conducted my readers up to the foot of the Muru-Wurdwun Pass into Kashmir, I will return with them to Jamu, in order to lead them to the valley by the passes of Banihal and Kuri, both of which have a common entrance into the mountains above the town of Rihursi, near the débouchure of the Chunab upon the plains.

I have never travelled by the direct road between Jamu and Rihursi; but in journeying from the latter place towards Lahore, I passed through a village at the spot where the Taui joins the Chunab, about ten miles from Jamu, which was visible on the left hand. The account which I have already attempted to give of the country bordering on the lower range, would describe generally the appearance of that part I have just alluded to, excepting that the slopes are less precipitous, the beds of the torrents more open, the heat more oppressive, and the vegetation more burnt up, and more resembling that which is found in the plains. The jungle hereabouts was not composed of firs; and amongst other medicinal plants and trees which were pointed out to me, I noticed the *amultas (falus* in Persian), the species of mimosa that bears a fruit called *arnilla*, and two kinds of the trees called *bullela*, or *behara*, by the natives.

The situation of Rihursi has added prosperity to the town and importance to the castle. There is

nothing remarkable in the place itself, which may contain some two or three hundred houses. It is built on a flat at the foot of the mountains, and separated by some uneven country from the plain of Bulu Altur. The Trekotar Devi, near it, is a very noble mountain: it is visible from a great distance from the south, divided, as its name would imply, into three peaks, and rises directly from the edge of the plain with an elevation (at a guess) of not less than five thousand feet above it. On its summit, it is said, is a Hindu shrine, at which cocoa-nuts are offered. On the eastern side of it is the débouchure of the Taui from the pass of Chinini, already described.

The castle of Rihursi does not appear to stand upon more than two or three acres of ground. It is one of the strongest, perhaps the strongest, and best constructed, in the country. Its general outline is a square, built upon a conical and rocky hill to the southward of the town, which it commands. Its walls are of stone, and very lofty. The rock, in some places, has been scarped up to their foot; and the four towers at the angles, as well as most of the interior buildings, which are visible from without, are covered with what are intended to be bomb-proof roofs. I was informed that water was kept in two large tanks within the walls.

A deep and broad ravine separates the castle-hill from a range of sandstone heights, on which an enemy's cannon could be placed, and which rise to a level with the castle, at a distance of about a mile from it, on the southward. I did not attempt to ascend to it, as Gulab Singh's Sepahis in possession would not have allowed me to enter it; and the refusal might have

been attended with slight or insult from Zurawur Singh, his General-in-chief, who usually resides at Rihursi, and who has lately been driven back towards Ladak by the Chinese.

The Chunab leaves the mountains on the north-west of Rihursi, and after flowing in a general direction from north to south along the edge of the plain, at a distance of one or two miles from the town, it turns southward, and runs through the jungles to the open plains of the Panjab, at Aknur. Rajah Gulab Singh is in the habit of ordering timber rafts to be constructed, which are floated down the Chunab, and sold and broken up in the plains.

The summit of the pass by which the mountains are first entered, on the way to Banihal path, to Kashmir, is about four miles in a straight line from Rihursi on the north-east. Its elevation above the plain must be about 1000 feet, and it affords a sudden and fine view of the country around Rihursi. The path on the northern side descends upon a ravine; and on the opposite side is another hill, whence there is a way to a bridge called Búngsu. On the farther side of the hill the path descends upon the Chunab; and at Kubi, near Lubsura, in the jungle, I and my whole party were drawn across the Chunab upon a rope-bridge, where the river is deep, tranquil, rather rapid, and about 200 yards in width. The horses were driven into the stream, and crossed in safety. My English terrier, who had swam across half the streams of the Alpine Panjab and Tibet, came across it in beautiful style; but the dog that Ahmed Shah of Little Tibet had given me was much exhausted, in consequence of the great weight of his coat. I crossed myself amongst

the first, in order to make a sketch of the scene; and as there was no danger, I ordered one of my servants to remain suspended for a moment over the middle of the river, whilst I took him down upon paper.

The way to Kuri commences, I believe, by crossing the Chunab at Anarsi, on the north of the town, where the river turns southward: it occupies but four days for a traveller on foot, and is the only way by which cannon on wheels could have a chance of passing into Kashmir, without making a road on purpose for them. The river at Anarsi is crossed in a boat: there is, I believe, no bridge there. In the spring of 1838, Gulab Singh, having determined to prosecute his long meditated invasion of Little Tibet, commenced by passing some troops at this place. The first boat upset, and eighty or ninety men were drowned. Whether this was looked upon as a bad omen I know not, but the expedition was discontinued.

The construction of the Kuri road is the work of Gulab Singh, and his officers collect a revenue for him from the duties arising from salt and other commodities, which are carried from the plains into Kashmir.

But his chief object was to further his designs upon Kashmir, which he and his brother have been constantly endeavouring to obtain possession of, by every means in their power; and when I finally quitted the valley on the 21st of December, 1838, the Maharajah appeared to have retained little for himself excepting the shawl duty, and Gulab Singh had, I believe, his revenue officers in the city, at Shupeyon and Islamabad. I am not sure whether I have ever seen any part of this road, excepting that

which passes over the elevated downs above Kuri, in Kashmir.

We are now, however, approaching Kashmir by the Banihal road, which is distinct from that of Kuri. The first station is but a short way from the bridge at Lubsura. There is nothing remarkable there, excepting, perhaps, the pyramidical shape of a little wooden Hindu shrine. At Sharatul, on the next day, the limestone strata attract attention, by their being raised up perpendicularly; and there is also a safe bridge over a very narrow but fearful chasm, or fissure, 100 feet in depth perpendicularly, in which a torrent is heard, but scarcely seen, in its way to join the Chunab.

The ascents and descents on the Banihal path are, in some places, exceedingly steep and fatiguing, whilst the general aspect of the country is the same as that on the Kishtawar side. I saw pheasants—I do not know of what species,—and monkeys, in the jungles; and in the districts of Deng and Kus the natives are very wild. I one day met three women on the path, and thinking that the savage-looking beauties would look well upon paper, I told my servants to persuade them to remain quiet for a while; but it was of no use, for whilst negotiations were still pending, they took fright, ran off, and climbed some trees with the activity of monkeys, from which no money, or assurance of protection, would induce them to come down.

Old Hindu figures, ornaments, and devices, figures of snakes in particular, are carved on the stone-work around the springs in Deng. I noticed a Saracenic ornament, exactly resembling the net-work in the

wagon-roofed ceiling in Nash's view of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent.*

The Castle of Harawug is placed in a ravine, on the banks of a stream that joins the Chunab immediately afterwards; by which means it commands the path. Its appearance, being built chiefly of wood, and its situation, are different from any other in the country; and, in the latter respect, it reminded me rather of a turreted residence by the side of a trout-stream in England. On ascending the hill opposite to it, the channel of the Chunab is seen approaching from Dodah and Budrawar, in a straight line of fifteen or twenty miles in length, and contributing to form the finest view that occurs throughout the whole way. This part of the path is also called Nasumon. On the next day the bridge and Sikh customhouse at Nathluna is attainable; and Banihal, and perhaps Kashmir, may be reached on the next. Forster entered the valley by this route in 1783.

I will now return to Jamu and proceed towards Rajawur. It was on the 4th of July, 1835, that I left Jamu for Aknur. The heat was intense, but I cared little for it. The path lay through the jungle on the southern side of the first slope that rises from the plains. As the evening approached, and the country became more open, I had some good sport with the black partridges that were calling on all sides of the path. The view of Aknur from the eastern bank of the Chunab is very picturesque. It has quite the appearance of a ruined city, and the

* "Its wagon-roofed ceiling, with its Moorish decorations, is one of the most beautiful specimens of interior embellishment in the kingdom, and is, indeed, unique of its kind."—*Vide* NASH'S *Views.*

remains of an old palace are well contrasted with the buildings of the new fort. I am aware, however, of nothing remarkable to be seen there. We were ferried over the river, about 100 yards in width, and I ordered my tent to be pitched close to the edge of the water, in order to enjoy the extraordinary coldness of the air, or rather of the mist; for the profuse vapour that was rolling in volumes over its surface on account of its sudden contact with hot air, could be compared to nothing else. I do not, however, strongly recommend such a practice to others, as I rose with a slight fever upon me.

So singular was the appearance of the country on the next day's march, as seen from the top of a pass on the way, where fir-trees were every where abundant, that it seemed as if the tempestuous waves of a short sea were suddenly changed into hills of sandstone and alluvium; and at length a fatiguing journey was terminated by a descent into the snug and pretty little valley of Aundra. The village of the same name afforded but little accommodation, and I had my tent pitched on the top of a house. The inhabitants, who were taken quite unawares, were alarmed at our appearance; but their fears were soon dispersed, and I put them in good-humour by scratching off two or three caricature portraits, and distributing a little medicine.

From Aundra I proceeded to a village called Tunda Páni, or "the cold spring." I found no cold water, but a green and open valley, with low grassy hillocks rising in different parts of it.

Dhurmsal,* the next station, was a village of the

* Dhurmsal, a place of meeting: a hostelry where there are rooms for travellers who find their own provisions.

same appearance as other Indian villages generally; consisting of flat-roofed huts, the inferior kinds looking very dirty, with smoke-marks on the walls, and cakes of cow-dung sticking to them, for the purpose of being dried and used as fuel. The superior kind of hut is distinguished by its new-looking and clean mud walls; the ends of the rafters on which the roof is laid projecting neatly from the side of the building; and the roof itself more free from holes, excepting that one which is used as a chimney; and shewing no symptoms of weakness or decay when stamped upon. The windows of the inferior hut are mere chinks in the wall, the door not above five feet high; whilst the chief man's house is recognised by the door-way being of superior height, and the windows larger and more numerous; and it sometimes boasts of an up-stairs room, from which he can see over the whole village.

On the roofs, and around and below, are to be seen men scarcely clothed, sitting, sleeping, cooking, and eating; women, spinning, knitting, and kneading, combing and braiding their own black and well-oiled hair, or cleansing that of a friend or relation with their unaided fingers and thumbs. Children amuse themselves with quarrelling and grovelling in the dust, in company with dogs and poultry that are similarly occupied. The best-dressed man in the village is usually the buniah, or shopkeeper, who may be seen sitting on his shop-board, with his bowl of copper and cowries for small change, and heaps of *ata* (flour), Indian corn, and *dhal*, red pepper, spices, ghee, and other articles of Indian cookery.

On the plain, at a short distance from the village, will be seen the carcass of a horse or cow, and some

ten or twenty vultures sitting on and around it, and keeping other animals at a respectful distance, until more of their species, who are seen approaching from an immense height, shall have descended to eat their fill. The little grey squirrel is very common; monkeys are chattering, doves cooing, jackdaws cawing, kites screaming as they whirl about incessantly in search of offal; whilst half-starved cattle remain in groups near the well, as motionless as the banian, the peepuls, and the mangos, under whose shade they have taken refuge.

The well itself is always a place of rendezvous, and if, as is usually the case, it be worked by a Persian wheel, which at a distance resembles the purring of a cat, adds not a little to the noise occasioned by the chattering of men, women, and children, who assemble near it morning and evening.

The common wants of travellers, of whatever faith, country, or calling, oblige them to halt near a well for the night; and the itinerant soudaugur, or merchant, cooks his supper, places a guard over his merchandise, and lies down to rest; and the sepahi on leave, the robber by profession, and the Thug disguised as best suits his purpose for the morrow, are soon in a state of repose. The pious follower of Mahomet is seen bending and bowing at his morning and evening prayer, rising from them more probably a better Musalman than a better man; and the Brahmin, distinguishable by the Juneo, or Brahminical string, mutters his prayers as he performs his ablutions; and the Hindu fakir, of whatever caste, with his person plastered over with mud, and the wild and ferocious expression of his countenance rendered more sinister

by the use of bang and opium, is often to be seen for days together in the same place near the well, because he is aware that the sanctity of his character and appearance will secure him alms, or a supply of food, from those who must resort to it.

There are two or three reasons why I remember this petty village, or dhurmsal, in particular. I saw there a man as fleshless as the living skeleton who was exhibited in London. He moved about like other people, but more slowly, said that he enjoyed pretty good health, and that he had been thin for a long time, but could give no reason for being so. I well remember also that I was a good deal stung by some wasps who had made their nests close over the top of the door of the room where I slept, and was consoled by being told that they would not sting a native whom they knew, but that they were exasperated because I was white and a stranger. I was also compelled, after giving her repeated warning, to souse with water an old woman whose curiosity made her persist in peeping into the room, to observe me at my toilette.

It rained during the whole afternoon of the next evening, the 8th of July, and the kulis could not keep up with me. I was obliged to halt at a wretched hovel in the jungle, at a place called Rilya. When my baggage did arrive, I ordered my servants to make my bed on the roof, and soon fell asleep, and forgot that I had been wet through and had gone to bed supperless. I was awakened at midnight by the rain pouring upon my bed, and was obliged, however unwillingly, to have it brought inside the house, amidst the most intolerable heat and stench. Sound sleep

was out of the question on account of the vermin, and shortly afterwards I was aroused by my servant's exclaiming that he had just seen a centipede crawling close to my bed, which, however, was not seen or felt by me.

A good start on a fine morning, in travelling, makes amends for all the evils of yesterday; and I should, I believe, have reached Rajawur on the next night, had not the state of a torrent compelled me again to take shelter in the house of a zemindar, or farmer, at a place called Saran. A guard came for me from the Rajah of Rajawur. The torrent subsided after the lapse of a few hours, and at length we arrived in safety on the left bank of the Rajawur river, where we were again obliged to halt, as it could not be passed on account of the quantity of water that had just descended from the mountains.

Rajawur is well situated, in the angle formed by the junction of the river from the Pir Panjal, and another stream that flows from the westward, and on the south of the town, and the lofty walls and square towers of the Rajah's palace rise with baronial effect from the waters of the former river. It contains about 500 houses, some of mud and wood, others of brick, and also a good bazaar; but the general aspect of the place shews it to have been larger in the time of the Moguls. Rajawur is surrounded by low hills covered with jungle; and one of them on the south of the town, across the stream, is considered impossible of ascent excepting by one path; and, in case of attack upon the town, the Rajah's zunana would be sent thither for security.

We accordingly entered the gardens of the old

Bara Devi, opposite to the town, intending to remain there until we could cross the river. Whilst searching the building for a room in which my bed could be placed, one of my servants, a Kashmirian, came running out, and partly by grimace, and partly by gesticulation, intimated that he had seen a large snake; and told me to place myself in readiness, and that he would drive him out. He and one or two others returned into the room, and immediately afterwards a huge cobra came gliding out of a hole in the wall, and fell with violence to the ground, where I shot him instantly. Two or three other snakes were seen by myself and servants, amongst the long grass and neglected masonry of the old garden; so that, for this, as well as many other reasons, I was not sorry, whilst my servants were making preparations for passing the night in the Bara Devi, to be informed that an elephant was struggling its way across the torrent, and the persons who were on him had been sent by the Rajah to conduct me back with it. One of them, a very fine-looking man, who had stripped himself nearly naked in order to be prepared for any mishap in crossing, was introduced to me as a son of the Rajah. He gave all necessary orders for the passing of my servants and baggage, and then invited me to ascend the elephant, and recross the stream, which I accordingly did, attended only by my interpreting servant. The Rajawur river, as the torrent was called, is of no depth, and contains but little water, excepting when its flood is swollen by rains, and the melting of the snows on the Pir Panjal whence it flows. I am inclined to believe, but am by no means certain, that its chief source is in the Kosah Kag, or lake, which lies above the limit of forest, on the

highest part of the Pir Panjal. A stream, I believe, bursts through the side of the mountain from the lake towards the plains, as does another which I have seen flowing from under the bank of the lake on the Kashmir side, and which is, in fact, the source of the Veshau. The stream in question descends upon Thana,* passes Rajawur and Nushera (the new city), when it turns to the eastward, and finally joins the Chunab near Aknur.

The strength of the elephant enabled him to bear up against the torrent, which was not more than thirty yards in width; but he was obliged to proceed very cautiously, amongst the confusion of small rocks and large rounded stones at the bottom, many of which, if displaced by a touch, were immediately subjected to the action of the water, and commenced rolling in such a manner as to render the footing very difficult and precarious.

The Rajah, who was waiting for me on the bank, surrounded by a large crowd, received me with great cordiality, and immediately conducted me to an upper room in the highest tower of the palace, which commanded a fine view, particularly to the northward; on which side the eye was conducted up the valley of the stream as far as Thána, to the green and lofty mountains behind it, and the snowy range of the Pir Panjal, that rose high and majestically above them. The Rajah and three or four of his sons, and a few of the principal persons of the court, entered the room with me. A fakir, armed and stripped of all but his girdle, and looking as wild and ferocious as mud and

* Thán signifies a place or country.

matted hair, and the iron weapons that he carried, could make him, entered with us, and astonished me by setting himself down opposite to me, and coolly asking for alms, which, of course, I refused. The Rajah quietly told him to withdraw; but he said that he was a fakir, and sulkily refused to do so; nor did the vagabond move till the Rajah ordered him more peremptorily to leave the room; and he was then hustled out by the guards in attendance, vowing vengeance upon those who had dared to treat a man of his consequence and sanctity with such little consideration.

After the usual compliments and inquiries had been made, a preparation of tea, with butter and soda, was then handed round. This he called Kashmiri tea: but I have drunk it in greater perfection in Little Tibet, and will again notice it. The Rajah then continued the conversation, by saying that he had known Mr. Wolff and M. Jacquemont, and spoke most kindly and respectfully of poor Moorcroft, who had visited him on his way to Kashmir, and also of his companions, Messrs. Trebeck and Guthrie; and he produced some old prints of London, and a camera obscura, which that lamented traveller had given him, and who, he added, had with him a little spaniel called Missy. I then produced a Bible at his request, which he carried reverently to his forehead, and asked me to read some of it, which I did. He then asked whether we Christians touched the ground with our forehead when at prayers, and whether we were buried in an upright posture, as some one had told him. I replied, that I knew but of one, and that he was buried with his head downwards. I allude to the story of the man said to be so interred at Box Hill in Surrey.

He wished to know if it were not true that there was a place in Calcutta from which no one who entered ever returned. I found, after some cogitation as to what this undiscovered bourn could be, that he was alluding to a freemasons' lodge. He made a most ludicrous hash of the English names which he used. He asked whether *Bonum*parte was not a very great Sepahi. My Indo-British servant and interpreter, whose name was Mitchell, he always called Mitchini; and having once given him a drop of essence of peppermint, he thought that he remembered the name exactly, and asked me the next time that he saw me, whether I had got any "peepulwund" with me. During a momentary pause he directed my attention to his feet. I looked and found that, like Goliath of Gath, he had six goodly toes on either; and afterwards, shewing me his hands, he made me remark that he once had had two thumbs on each, but that one was cut off in his youth, and the mark only was remaining.

Rajah Rahim Ullah Shah of Rajawur is now from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His person is short, but large and muscular; his mouth large, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes smaller in proportion, and the expression of his countenance, though somewhat stern and heavy, is decidedly a good one. I have been his guest at Rajawur on three separate occasions, and he and his sons have always treated me with great kindness and civility; but I should have liked him better had I not heard his history.

His father had three sons, of whom Rahim Ullah Shah was the youngest. The eldest had long since died, and Agha Khan, the second, became Rajah of Rajawur. Rahim Ullah Shah quarrelled with his

brother, and was made Rajah by Runjit, as a reward for his shewing the Sikh's forces the way to Kashmir in 1819, when they took the valley. Agha Khan died in confinement at Lahore about ten years ago.

The territory of Rajawur, which lies in the high-way from Lahore to Kashmir, was originally, I believe, a gift to his ancestor by Aurangzyb,* whose great-grandfather, Akber, had taken the valley of Kashmir; and upon one occasion he shewed me three original grants, sealed and signed by Aurangzyb and Bahadur Shah, his son. They were beautiful and interesting specimens of Persian penmanship; but the lapse of time, and the conquests of the Sikhs, have much lessened the territory and revenue of Rajawur, part of which arose from a right to 12,000 kirwahs of rice in Kashmir, where the Rajah still holds a village, near Zynapur. The country under the dominion of Rajawur originally extended from Púnch to Jamu.

I asked the Rajah how he pronounced the name of his capital; Rāj-ăwūr, was his answer (though it is usually called Rajāwŭr), with an emphasis on the last syllable. Rajawur means the fortress of the *Raj*, the kingdom, or territory. Rahim Ullah Shah is deservedly considered a very learned and well-read man amongst natives, and I know of no one whom I would sooner consult on the subject of tradition, or from whom I could collect more local and historical information regarding these countries, than himself.

Akber,† who took Kashmir, he informed me, visited the valley but twice, although Abu Fuzl says that he

* Aurangzyb, the ornament of the throne, otherwise called Alum Gir, the universe-conquering.

† Akber, or "the Great."

followed the imperial stirrup three times to the valley. His son, Jehan Gir,* the hero in "Lalla Rookh," passed not less than thirteen summers in his favourite province. Shah Jehan,† his grandson, went there but once; and Aurangzyb, or Alum Guire, never crossed the Pir Panjal after he had ascended the peacock throne.

The Rajah presented me with some old copper coins found at Nudah, about three kos north of Rajawur, which are afterwards noticed. Upon one occasion when I came to Rajawur, he also presented me with a kakur, or barking deer, which had just been killed in the neighbourhood; and at another time he sent me with a party of men to beat the jungle for me, and I astonished the natives uncommonly by killing both red-leg and black partridges flying.

A native and aboriginal pointer is to be found in these mountains. I have seen several of them. They have not, of course, the high-breeding of the English dog, but are decidedly pointers, in every sense of the word. The Rajah had one which accompanied me. He had never been discouraged from running in upon his game, and therefore hunted like a spaniel; but I was never wrong in trusting to him. I may mention in this place that there is also another breed of very small dogs, who came originally, I was informed, from Chumba. They somewhat resemble the fox-dog, but are smaller. I saw one in possession of a Sepahi, which stood only eight inches high over the shoulder, but long in proportion, with a sharp nose

* Jehan Gir, the world-conquering. † The king of the world.

and a bushy tail, and covered generally with long white hair. Its owner had dyed its ears, tail, and feet, of a bright gold colour, with huldi, or turmeric. Rajah Hira Singh, of Lahore, is in possession of several of them. The sheep-dog of Tibet, and the Sind hound, are also peculiar, and will be noticed.

About one day's march to the eastward of Rajawur is a hot spring (Tata páni), near which I went to shoot. I had forgotten my thermometer upon the occasion, and can only say that I should think its heat must have been about 140°. It gushed from beneath a marly rock, and had a sulphureous taste, and deposited sulphur as it ran. There is another hot spring about forty-five yards from it, and a cold spring rises between them. I was told that the hot water was colder in the hot weather, and that the natives were aware of its cleansing and purifying properties, and came from far and near to bathe in it.

In a hollow, amongst the jungle-clad hills and low precipices, within a short distance of the spring, I discovered a coal-bed, jutting out in three different places from the bank on the path-side. I have specimens of the coal with me in England, but it is not very promising, though I cannot, of course, say how it would turn out if worked. I shewed it to the peasants in the neighbourhood, who shook their heads, and said they had too much jungle to use up before they would require it; and the Rajawur Rajah seemed to be of the same opinion; though he pricked up his ears a little when I told him that it might bring him in a fortune at some future day, and still more when I said that it was excellent for dressing kababs (roast meat) with.

In the middle of the first night of my first visit to Rajawur I was awakened by the intelligence that one of my Hindustani servants was very ill with cholera. He had been eating of some raw roots whilst we were waiting in the garden.. I found him nearly senseless, and to all appearance dying, and the good Rajah and a number of people standing near his bedstead. I immediately uncorked the cholera medicine that I had brought with me from Bombay, and was proceeding to administer it, when somebody uttered the word shrab (wine). It flew from mouth to mouth; the Rajah himself objected, but mildly, to my giving wine to a Musalman; and the man himself, although at the last gasp, and a great rascal, as I afterwards found, having understood that I was about to give him wine, protested against such a proceeding, by moving his hand before his mouth, and making a grimace as if he had taken the most nauseous medicine. I declared that it was not wine—nor was it (it only contained a large proportion of brandy); and he then swallowed it, opened his eyes almost instantaneously, and said that now he could recognise me. In short, I soon got him round, and the next day he was walking along as if nothing had happened, and rather pleased than otherwise at having been an object of so much interest. The Rajah and others returned to their rest, talking loudly in praise of such wonderful medicine. Having occasion again to refer to the same bottle, I missed the contents, although it was well corked, and could get no account of it, and feel sure either that the fellow had sold it as a panacea, or, having heard that he had drunk wine, had poured it away as an expiatory offering to the offended Prophet.

We are now, as before remarked, on the highroad of the Mogul Emperors from Lahore to Kashmir; but being of opinion that it would be as well to bring up what has been left behind, we will first notice the path from Bhimbur (at the entrance to the hills) to Rajawur, and also that from Bhimbur to Púnch and Uri, and the cross-path from Púnch to Thána, and then, returning to Rajawur, will proceed thence towards Kashmir without further delay.

I have several times passed from Lahore to Bhimbur, and *vice versâ*, and reckon the whole distance to be between seventy and seventy-five miles. The country is every where as flat as possible, and the plain appears boundless, excepting on the side of the glorious Himalaya, which is seen rising like an unbroken wall on the northward, from a distance of more than 180 miles, throughout the whole way from Kabul to Assam.

The plains of the Panjab are but partially cultivated, and in the winter months the country around the villages is covered with green patches of wheat and barley, divided by no hedge but a small ridge and furrow, which is filled with water by means of the Persian wheel.

The villages themselves appear to be but one dusty confusion of mud walls. A few trees are sometimes to be seen in the gardens and shrines; and generally near the well are banians, mangos, pipuls, bambus, palms, and plantains; and others, of exactly the same appearance, and with a similar clump of trees, are scattered in every direction on the plain, which is always more or less sandy, scantily covered with the thorny camel-plant, and stunted byr-apple, or jujube, and boasting here and there of a small and

isolated mimosa-tree. Such is the general aspect of the Panjab.

The inferior towns are, generally speaking, but villages on a larger scale, and containing some particular building, such as a fort or the residence of a Sikh chief.

At Gujuru-wallah,* on the march from Lahore to Bhimbur, is a large square fort, the walls coated with mud, and surrounded by a ditch. It contains an excellent garden, and the residence of the late Sirdar Huri Singh. Runjit became jealous or afraid of him, or angry with him; and, as was his custom on similar occasions, did not support him by sending him the reinforcement he needed and asked for, when he was defending Peshawur against the Afghans. A reverse of some kind was usually the case, and Huri Singh was killed in an action in the Khyber pass. Had the Afghans known of his death, they would have, perhaps, risen *en masse*, and retaken Peshawur; but his second in command, whose name I am sorry to have forgotten, concealed his death, giving out that he was only wounded, and would be able to resume the command in a few days; and in the meantime had him buried as a private soldier. He thus kept up the spirits of Runjit's troops, until the arrival of an effective reinforcement dispensed with the necessity of further secrecy.

I visited Huri Singh in company with Baron Hugel. He received us with kindness and hospitality, and conversed a good deal; taking down from us in writing, for his own information, the names of the

* Cowherd fellow.

different countries in Europe, with their capitals, extent, &c. He evinced the greatest satisfaction at our reading a passage in Prinsep's "Runjit Singh," in which the incident so flattering to his vanity, of his having killed a tiger single-handed, was alluded to, and ordered the identical sword to be produced. The blade, in two pieces, was such as is commonly made and worn in the Panjab, something like that of an English broad-sword, but smaller; the hilt also was, as is always the case, too small to be used by an European hand. In cutting, an Oriental does not straighten the elbow; the handle is made small and confined, on purpose that he may not be forced to straighten it; and the consequence is that he must draw the cut as he delivers it. A deliberate blow from an Eastern sword is generally something very effective. I have seen a sheep laid in two at one stroke, at Tehran; and Suliman Mirza, one of the numerous sons of the late Futi-Ali-Shah,* of Persia, has been known to cut a donkey in half at one sweep of his sword. He sent to England the pattern of a blade which he wanted for the performance of such feats.

At Gujuru-wallah are also to be seen the tomb of Maha Singh, the father, and another also of the mother, of Runjit; but neither are in any way remarkable.

Vuzirabad is the neatest-looking place in the Panjab. Its streets and bazaar are laid out at right-angles, and the houses and shops have an appearance of room and comfort much superior to that of a merely

* The king victorious in the name of Ali.

native town. It is entered by a handsome gateway, over which is the house of M. Avitabile, a Neapolitan officer in the service of Runjit, who, in common with his other European officers, has ever made himself conspicuous by his attention and hospitality to Europeans who have visited the Panjab.* M. Avitabile had the management of the revenue arising from the country around Vuzirabad; and the thriving state and appearance of the town are chiefly owing to his exertions. On the northern side of it is a garden and three houses; two belonging to the late Maharajah, and the other to the minister, Rajah Dhihan Singh. They are very neat buildings, partly Saracenic, and the rest *ad libitum;* generally rectangular in shape, and surmounted with a terrace. From one of them there rises a square tower, fifty or sixty feet in height. The greater part is painted with Hindu mythological devices, intermixed with horses and other animals, and wreaths and bouquets of flowers, on a white ground. The broad walks in the garden, as well as the garden itself, are also laid out with very good effect; but being nearly new, it could not boast of any great show of either fruits or flowers.

The Pir Panjal, as the range that separates Kashmir from the plains of the Panjab is called, is seen to great effect from the summit of the tower; its line of snowy peaks occupying about forty-five degrees of the horizon, to the north-north-east; and from the garden-wall to the front of the snow, which is about eighty miles distant, there appears to be but one unbroken flat, with

* And latterly by the prompt and timely assistance given to the Company's troops when *en route* to Jallalabad.

a verdant foreground, and scarcely a single tree upon it, as far as the eye can collect its extent.

The Chunab is crossed in boats about four or five miles on the northward of the town, where it is between 200 and 300 yards in width, with flat banks and a muddy stream. From the opposite side the road to Afghanistan, *viâ* Jylum and Attok, proceeds in the same direction, but that to Bhimbur turns northward to the right. It lies over one continued plain, sometimes verdant and cultivated, but more often sandy, and barren of every thing, excepting a few small dwarf shrubs, usually the jujube. It is sprinkled with villages, or collections of mud cottages, with a small clump of trees near them.

On approaching Bhimbur, the face of the country assumes the appearance of a dried marsh, being covered with large tufts of reeds and long grass, swarming with wild boar, of which none can be killed under a heavy penalty, by order of the minister, Dhihan Singh. Black and grey partridges are also very abundant. Bhimbur lies at the edge of the plain, at the debouchure of a small stream, that flows downward to it through a valley, and afterwards joins the Chunab a little below Vuzirabad. The snowy Panjal is visible from the neighbouring ridges, but otherwise there is nothing particularly picturesque in the appearance of the village itself. Its cottages are of unhewn stone, mud, and wood, and it contains two or three small musjads, and a house built for the reception of the Maharajah.

The castle of Amur Gurh,* built by Dhihan

* The immortal fortress.

Singh, is visible on approaching Bhimbur from the plain, upon a ridge six miles distant, to the eastward of the village.

The last legitimate Rajah of Bhimbur was Sultan Khan, who opposed Runjit when he was prosecuting his designs upon Kashmir, and sent to Atar Mohamed Khan, the Afghan governor of the valley, for assistance. He was, however, I was informed, taken prisoner, and restored to his dominions by the Maharajah; but he afterwards intrigued in secret with Mohamed Azim Khan, the subsequent governor, and told him that he should be enabled to throw off the Sikh yoke if he would but give him 12,000 rupis. In the meantime, Runjit again sent a second army to Kashmir, and Sultan Khan went with it. He was afterwards imprisoned at the instance of Rajah Gulab Singh, who subsequently took him to Rihursi, and, so I was informed, had him blinded with a myl,* made hot by friction upon a piece of cloth,—a method commonly used in the East for the purpose of destroying the eyesight. He has been dead about twelve years. His son, Fyza Tulab,† went with Kupar‡ Ram, the Governor of Kashmir, to Lahore, and Dhihan Singh became master of Bhimbur, by the gift of the Maharajah, and was ever afterwards, and chiefly on account of the protection thus afforded to Fyza Tulab, at enmity with the last-mentioned governor, and at last had influence enough to have him removed from the valley.

* A silver or iron bodkin, used for applying the surma, or antimony, to the eyelids.

† The Beautiful Lake.

‡ Perhaps more properly Gopa, the cowherds and playmates of Krishna.

The ruins of the palace of the old Rajah of Bhimbur are to be seen near the village, on the left of the way to Kashmir, which thence continues to wind for about five miles along the rocky bed of the stream, which it crosses at intervals. The traveller must then dismount, and commence on foot the ascent of the sandstone hills that form the first stepping-stones of the Himalaya. They lie here as if they had but just been raised up from the bottom of the sea, rearing themselves in strata towards the snowy range on the north, at angles of from twenty-five to fifty degrees on the plain, and then suddenly terminating in a very steep bank, or inaccessible cliff, from 400 to 600 feet in height.

The first ghât, or summit of a ridge, is about eight miles distant from Bhimbur, in a direct line, and about 1000 feet above the plains of the Panjab. In the jungle with which they are covered are the jujube, two or three kinds of mimosas, and in the spring I have seen the fruit and the blossom of the pomegranate blushing beside each other on the same stem. The ash, the Himalaya oak, the wild mulberry-tree, and the *pinus longifolia*, soon begin to make their appearance, and the latter becomes very common, and the hills are nearly covered with it throughout all the way to Rajawur, which is three days' march from Bhimbur, at the rate of eight kos (about fourteen miles) a-day, according to native calculation.

On the summit, which is known by the appellation of the Ada Ghat, or Tak,* is a small customhouse. I once, near it, picked up the end of a thigh-bone of some large animal, and, upon shewing it to people at the house, I was assured that it was a gin's tooth.

* Half of the mountain.

An insurrection had taken place near Púnch against the authority of Gulab Singh. He had gone in person to suppress it, and succeeded in doing so. Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye. The executioner hesitated, and Gulab Singh asked him if he were about to operate upon his father or mother, and rated him for being so chicken-hearted. He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with straw; the hands were stiffened, and tied in an attitude of supplication; the corpse was then placed erect; and the head, which had been severed from the body, was reversed as it rested on the neck. The figure was then planted on the way-side, that passers-by might see it; and Gulab Singh called his son's attention to it, and told him to take a lesson in the art of governing. The heads of two of the prisoners I saw grinning from iron cages over the path at Ada Tak, by way of affording a wholesome lesson to all travellers. Lord Bacon has remarked, under the head of cruelty, in his "Advancement of Learning," that "if cruelty proceed from revenge, it is justice; if from peril, it is wisdom." From all I heard of the rebellion, there was neither wisdom nor justice to dignify the actions I have related now.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER VIII.

Castle of Amur Gurh—Hera Singh—Danger of too much Curiosity—Spies in the East—Hindu Building—Cultivated Plain—Kotli—Beautiful View—Púnch—A Rencontre—The Serai—Fine Waterfalls—Uri: its Sikh Castle—Change of Temperature—Road to Bhimbur—Serai of Shadabad—Immense Walls—Saracenic Architecture—Magnificent View—Ruined Hindu Temple—Plain of Nushera—Sacred Birds of the Jungle—Vegetation—Jungle Fowl—Monkeys—Thána—Large Serai—Chunar Tree—Geology of the District—Mountain Lakes—Policy of Runjit Singh: his Intrigues—Victory over the Sikhs—Human Remains—Lammergeyers—Impetuous Torrent—Barumgulu—Waterfall—Avalanche—A Sacrifice—Singular Tower—A Holy Man—Mountain Vegetation—Geology of the Panjal—Tower of Lal Gholam—Descent of the Mountain—Town of Shupeyon—Curious Building—The Maleks—Farm-Houses—Names of the Thirty-six Divisions of Kashmir.

CHAPTER VIII.

At the foot of the descent on the north side of the Ada Tak, the path to Kashmir by Koteli and Púnch turns away to the left, the latter place being four marches distant, and the scenery of much the same description as that on the road to Rajawur. In travelling to Kashmir by the Púnch road, the first march I made was from Bhimbur to the village of Sumani. The peasants brought me a profusion of wild yellow raspberries. I examined the castle at Amur Gurh through my telescope. It is apparently built on a ridge, once the precipitous bank of a ravine to the westward of it, but is commanded from other eminences at no great distance. It seemed to be of stone, and of very solid masonry, with curtains and towers formed on a rectangular outline. It is supposed to contain a large treasure, and a magazine of arms, increased by the cannon that the Rajah had smuggled from his master, Runjit, who, partly from fear, and partly on account of his affection for Hira Singh, his son, had always winked at the peccadillos of his minister, of which it is said he was well informed.

It is always advisable to avoid too close an inspection of a castle or a fortification in these countries; and unless your motive be special and material, it is better to pass them with as little notice or inquiry as possible, or you will excite suspicions in the mind

of their owners; and there is hardly one of your own servants who is not a spy upon your actions, in the pay of any one who may wish to know them. If it be absolutely necessary, for travellers' reasons, to look carefully at any stronghold, it should always be deferred till the last moment, when you have previously examined every thing else that you wished to see.

On the next day's march (of eighteen miles at least) from Sumani to the Dharmsala, I passed, after an hour's ride, a small well, where were the remains of a Hindu building, of the same style as that so common in Kashmir. The path, which had proceeded westerly along the foot of the ridge, now turned directly through it, and I travelled the whole day through a succession of broken hills and ridges of sandstone, rising to a height in some places of 1000 or 1500 feet, and covered with the *pinus longifolia*. It was not a road by which guns could have passed, but was much better than the shorter path by which the kulis had gone. I saw very few birds, and no game of any description. The only object worthy of remark was Dhihan Singh's castle of Kambar, which I passed about midway. It was finely situated on an isolated rock, but the country round it seemed too much confined.

On the 1st of May, 1837, we marched from the Dharmsala to Koh-i-Ruti, in the district of Bunah, a well-cultivated and undulating plain of four or five miles in width, surrounded by hill, and watered by a river which descends to its junction with that of Púnch, a little below Kotli, where I arrived on the next evening. The latter place lies also in a plain washed by a fine sweep of the Púnch river, which,

upon leaving it, flows through the hills on the westward, to its junction with the Jylum. There is a great deal of cultivation in the immediate neighbourhood of Kotli, and it has all the appearance of being a considerable place; a supposition which its situation would justify. It now contains about 150 houses, and a Sikh customhouse, the proceeds of which are the property of Rajah Dhihan Singh. The view up the valley of the river, on the way to Sehrah and Púnch, is beautiful, though not very bold. The well-wooded banks in the foreground slope to the water's edge, and the snow of the Panjal is seen in the distance above them. By the side of the path, which at first is somewhat difficult, I observed the wild olive, the mimosa, the *pinus longifolia*, pear, apricot, fig-trees, and yellow raspberry, and rose and barberry bushes were abundant. But the pride of the jungle for the time being was the *Bauhinia*, whose large red and white flowers attracted the eye in all directions by their brilliancy. At Sehrah,* I entered the district of Patalad. The Púnch river is joined by a small stream from the north-east, and a Hindu ruin was visible on the right bank of the former.

On the next day, about one-third of the way to Púnch, I crossed the end of a valley on the left which leads into the country of Kasáli, lying to the westward between Púnch and the Jylum. The Rajah of Kasáli, or of some other place in the same part of the country, was the chief whom I had seen as a prisoner in Gulab Singh's castle at Kishtawar. In the afternoon I came in sight of Púnch, lying on the north bank of the

* Seh, three; and Rah, a way.

river. The country is generally open, the mountains forming an amphitheatre around it, and the valley, up which lay the way to Uri and Kashmir, were visible in a northerly direction behind the town.

Púnch itself is in no way remarkable; it is much less than Rajawur, and somewhat larger than Kọtli, the houses being of the same construction; and not being aware of any thing of sufficient interest to detain me longer there, I commenced at once the ascent to the pass. It is usually necessary to pass the night at Kahuta, having first ridden through the district of Sudarun, at the mouth of the valley. At the latter place I once met a large retinue, and exchanged compliments with its chief, Rajah Sher Baz Khan,* who was hunting. He was very civil; but I was so unwell at the time that I was glad to escape from the conversation. He was, I believe, the descendant of the Rajah of Púnch. But that place, and all that was subject to it, were under the iron rule of Gulab Singh or his brother.

The stream that descends from the north-east, which is here very narrow and covered with low jungle, is from the Hylan district, and a little farther up the valley the principal stream, here called the Hulna, is joined by another from the Kurnawur ridge. The Serai at Shukr-abad† is old and comfortless, and I took shelter in a hut a little below it. In bad weather it will be found necessary to halt there for the second night from Púnch, and ascend the remaining distance in the morning. On the summit is a hut capable of affording shelter in case of a

* The lion-hawk.

† The place of thanksgiving.

storm. Its elevation is about 8500 feet above the sea, and the view of the snowy Panjal would be thought magnificent, if it were not more so from many other places.

The path on the summit winds over a flat covered with firs, for the space of half a mile or more, and then descends through the jungle to the village of Hydrabad. The Púnch path is never entirely shut for foot passengers, and very rarely for horses, at any time of the year, though the snow may render the passing a service of fatigue and difficulty. On the next morning the traveller descends from Hydrabad to Uri, down the valley of the stream. Two fine waterfalls, that would make a fortune of any place of fashionable resort in England, are seen from the path soon after leaving the Serai, but otherwise there is nothing but sameness in the jungle, throughout the whole distance.

Uri and its Sikh castle are built on a point of land between the Hydrabad stream and the Jylum, which it there joins in the Baramula pass, as it flows from Kashmir, and it will be again noticed when that pass is described. One night intervenes between Uri and Baramula, at the entrance of the valley.

I will now notice the cross path from Púnch to Thána, at the head of the Rajawur valley. It ascends the fine open valley of the river, which is generally fordable, and soon arrives opposite to the mouth of a small opening in the mountains on the left, up which is the commencement of the Tosi Mydan pass to Kashmir, by which Runjit attempted to enter the valley in 1814.

I slept at Surnu-kot, where was an old castle in the valley, surrounded by hills covered with forest, and

streams that found their way, I believe, to the Púnch river, but were scarcely remarkable amidst the fine scenery that every where so much abounded. The way to Barumgulu, down which the river descends, bears away to the left, whilst the path to Thána ascends a pass to the right; and, after a fatiguing march to the summit, on which I found snow, I suddenly encountered the view of Akber's Serai and the valley of Rajawur; and before I had joined the path from Rutun Shah, I found a perceptible difference in the temperature of the air, which partook rather of the heat of the plains that I was now approaching.

But we must now return to the highway from Bhimbur to Rajawur and Kashmir. Proceeding from Ada-Tak, by the Rajawur road for about five miles, I arrived at the Serai of Shadabad, built, I believe, by Akber or Jehan Gir, and it still affords a shelter to the traveller. It is, like all the caravanserai of the East, a large square building, uncovered in the centre, with deep niches, which may be turned into rooms for separate parties, around the walls on the inside. These walls are from fifteen to twenty feet in thickness; and there is a flat roof on which a person can walk around the whole square. The architecture is usually Saracenic. A bazaar, in which flour and other necessaries are purchased, is attached to the Serai.

Four miles farther on are two or three cottages, surrounded by broken hills of sandstone, covered with low jungle; and those who wish to reach Rajawur in three days from Bhimbur must halt there for the night. Soon afterwards the second sandstone ridge, of about the same height as the Ada Tak, is to be passed. The red bark of the *pinus longifolia*, with

which it is covered, and the rocky scenery on the ascent, reminded me of the Highlands of Scotland. The scarlet loose-strife* displayed its flowers in great profusion, and the oleander† was occasionally to be seen upon the banks of the stream.

From the summit of the Ghat, where there is an old stone ruin that may have been a Hindu temple, a magnificent view suddenly presents itself. The open space or plain of Nushera‡ appears to commence from the foot of the ridge; the different ranges with which the country is chiefly covered can be easily distinguished, and the Pir Panjal behind them is seen extending itself in great majesty between the north and west, the former end sinking behind the intervening mountains, and the latter flanked by the remarkable peaks of the Trekotar Devi, near Rihursi.

The town lies in the centre of the plain, about seven miles distant. Its large Serai was built by one of the Emperors, who made this his second day's march from Bhimbur. Flocks of green parrots were wheeling rapidly across the path; and pea-fowl were screaming in the jungle, secure from interruption, by the religious veneration in which they were held.

The Rajawur river runs rapidly beneath the walls of the Serai, and after being joined by a stream that comes from Kotli, it pursues its course to its junction with the Chunab below Rihursi.

We next pitched upon a houseless flat on the side of the stream, which was covered with an enormous quantity of stones, rounded by the action of the stream. On the next morning we followed up the

* Grislea tomentosa. † Nerium coronarum.

‡ The new city.

windings of the river, which flows through some very pretty scenery, and occasionally wading through its waters, we arrived at Rajawur in the afternoon.

The few cottages that I had passed in the way were usually of but one story, built of stones and mud, and having roofs extended in advance of the wall, so as to form a veranda, which was supported by wooden posts. The inhabitants, who are scarcely less dark than those of the plains, have cleared away a small space near their residence, and contrive to get a livelihood by farming.

The pathways were now hedged by wild pear, fig, and pomegranate; rose and barberry-trees, and coriander, were also very common; and the peasants brought me basketsful of the yellow and well-flavoured wild raspberry. I noticed the blue jay, the yellow oriole, the bulbul of the plains, and the blue and chocolate-coloured kingfisher. The jungle fowl are also to be found here, and the chikor, or red-leg partridge, is much more common than either the black or grey species.

I saw monkeys in the trees near the path. There are kakur, or barking deer, and wild boar and hares, in the jungle; also bears, leopards, and occasionally a tiger from the plains; whilst jackals, foxes, and hyenas, are plentiful every where.

Rajawur I have already described; and having noticed all the other passes from the plains, we will, at length, proceed thence towards Kashmir.

Thana is about eleven miles from Rajawur, and the road thither is carried along the valley, down which the river descends, which is to be crossed two or three times by wading. My horse picked his way carefully

amongst the large loose stones which bestrewed the path in many places, and formed the only vestiges of the regular causeway made by Akber's pioneers. A large Serai built by him, of red brick, is conspicuously placed on the right bank of the stream, near Thána, and its quadrangle was well adapted to the reception of a *cortège* of a Mogul Emperor; but I preferred taking up my quarters in a much less imposing, but more comfortable building, that had been prepared for Runjit, in the village. Its houses are singularly crowded together in tiers, on every available spot, on the precipice which overhangs the river, and are prettily shaded by numerous walnut and mulberry-trees. Four-fifths of every pathway were occupied by a small gutter, containing running water. I observed, also, a chunar-tree at Thána, and believe that it is nowhere found nearer to the plains. Most of the inhabitants, and I should think there might be 300 or 400, were Kashmirians, who gained a subsistence by weaving and spinning.

Thána, by thermometer, stands about 5000 feet above the level of the sea, and on about the same level as the surface of the valley of Kashmir. At seven o'clock in the morning, on the 13th of July, the mercury stood at 74° in the shade.

Argillaceous slate and mica slate are very common in the intervening ranges between the primary ridges of the Himalaya, that connects them and the sandstone with the plains. The abrupt precipices of the latter are here succeeded by hills of a schistose formation, and they sink into insignificance when compared with the lofty ranges at the foot of which Thána is situated. The dwarfish jungle disappears in favour of

the lofty pine forest, and the mountains, which form the third and last ridge that intervenes between the plains and the Pir Panjal, rise directly from behind the village, with an almost Alpine height, and a verdure that reminded me of the Pyrenees. They are ascended by a pathway that joins the Nandan Sar path to Kashmir, which latter commences its ascent about two miles from Thana to the eastward. I never saw it, but can believe that it is a very good mountain-road. It was used by Akber; the present way by Barumgulu not being so much frequented.

Upon reaching the open space in the Panjal, the traveller passes five little lakes, within a mile, or less, of each other. The first is the Nandan Sar,* from which the way takes its name. The streams from all these unite, and form the Huripur River, which descends towards Kashmir through a gap between two hills, opposite the Allahabad Serai, five miles on the other side of the crest of the Pir Panjal.

In 1814 the Maharajah Runjit Singh sent forward 10,000 Sikhs by way of Nandan Sar. The Patans (or Afghans) in Kashmir were ready to receive them, and encamped on the Pinjara Plain, near Shupeyon. A shower of rain rendered the Sikh muskets almost useless, and Runjit's troops were consequently defeated; the Patan General was, however, killed in the action. At the same time Runjit, who had attempted to carry the Tosi Mydan Pass, was defeated by Mohamed Azim Khan, the then Governor of Kashmir, in person.

In 1819 Mohamed Azim Khan went to Kabul,

* The lake of Nandana, the Garden of Indra, the Hindu Jove, or God of the Firmament.

and left the Nawab Jubar Khan, brother of Dost Mohamed, as Governor of Kashmir. The Sikhs took advantage of the absence of a large portion of the Afghan troops, who were employed at Kandahar, in the expedition against Shah Kamran of Herat; and at Jutipur, one kos from Shupeyon, was fought the battle that gave Kashmir to the Sikhs. The Maharajah was at Nushera when he received the news of this victory. He had sent forward his army under the command of the Prince Kuruk Singh, the heir apparent, who remained at Thana, where he divided his forces. Twelve thousand men commanded by Fula Singh, an Akali, or fanatic Sikh priest, proceeded by the Barumgulu pass; whilst Mesur Dewan Chund, another of his generals, led a strong detachment along the Nandan Sar path. The Rajah of Bhimbur, Sultan Khan, my traitorous host of Rajawur, and the Namdur Thakur, or chief ruler of Kus, a country on the right of the Banihal road from Kashmir, went in attendance upon the Sikh leader last mentioned.

The two chief men of Shupeyon were sent forward by the Nawab to the tower of Lal Gholam (the Red Slave) from Kashmir, in order that they might send him notice of the approach of the Sikhs; but they also became traitors, and the Sikhs entered the valley at Shupeyon. Myrakur Khan, an officer of the Nawab Jubar Khan, attacked the Sikh force with a handful of horse at Jutipur; but he and his men were all cut to pieces. A general action then took place on the plain of Deopur, in which the Patans were worsted, and Jubar Khan fled to the city, and went in a boat to Baramula. Lahore was illuminated for three days in honour of the event.

Five years before the first Sikh expedition, a meeting took place at Jylum, between the celebrated Futi Khan, as the Vuzir of Shah Ziman of Kabul, and the Maharajah Runjit Singh. The former had been commissioned by his master to proceed to, and inquire into the state of affairs in Kashmir; Shah Ziman being dissatisfied with the proceedings of Atar Mohamed Khan, the then Governor. Futi Khan secretly (so I was informed) promised to hold the valley for Runjit, if he would give him a sufficient force. He accordingly gave him 10,000 men; and with these Futi Khan passed the Panjal by the Nandan Sar road. A battle was fought near Shupeyon, the Governor fled, and Futi Khan returned to Kabul, leaving his brother Mohamed Azim Khan as the new Governor of Kashmir. He then, having thus far served his own interests, broke his promise to Runjit, as far as the valley was concerned, but managed to give up to him the fort of Attok, by bribing Jehan Dad, the Governor, to leave it.

Such was the story as told to me. In Prinsep's "Life of Runjit Singh" it is related differently. The capture of Attok was effected, it is there said, by the intrigues of Runjit with the Governor himself; but not, at all events, without a battle in which the Sikhs were victorious.

After sleeping at Thána, I repassed the old Serai, in order to ascend the Rutun* Shah Ghat, on the regular way to Kashmir. The ascent soon begins, and the traveller and his path are soon hid in the recesses of the jungle. The cross way to Púnch (already noticed) turns off to the left, and that to Rutun Shah

* Rutun signifies a jewel.

continues northward up the mountain. The first object I remarked was a well, with some old equestrian reliefs upon the stonework around it; and, upon turning a corner, I remarked some old and tattered garments by the path-side, and a human foot, the remnant of a body that had been devoured by jackals, vultures, and hyenas. Cannibals assert that the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are the best parts of the human body: dogs, on the contrary, it is said, eat all excepting these parts. I found afterwards that not a day passed whilst I was on the path to Kashmir, and even when travelling in the valley, that I did not see the bleached remains of some unfortunate wretch who had fallen a victim either to sickness or starvation; and principally, as I had afterwards reason to believe, to the consequences of the dreadful scarcity with which Kashmir was afflicted, after the earthquake and cholera had done their worst.

Two of the largest lammergeyers I had ever seen were circling in the air, over the hamlet of four or five loghouses on the summit; but which boasted of a shop, or store, where refreshments were provided for man and beast. The specimen I struck from the rock is of a sienitic formation.

Akber's Serai was seen as a speck at the foot of the ascent; and the ranges I had passed through were visible as far as the plains. But I glanced only at a view that was comparatively tame, and turned to the prospect of the Pir Panjal, and the vast depths that were yet to be passed on this side of it. The peak of Tata Koti, reported by the natives to be composed of crystal, rose conspicuously amongst a line of others, rearing themselves with a grandeur of elevation

that, to an eye unaccustomed to mountain scenery, would seem to defy all attempt at access. I halted to sketch so fine a landscape, and then commenced the descent to Barumgulu,*—rejoicing in the sight of snow, which was now so near me, and invigorated by the mere reflection that I should cross the Panjal on the third day afterwards. A lofty forest of pines and deodars covered the whole face of the mountains in the foreground. The horse chesnut-tree was also very numerous; and the bark upon its long straight stem was split into flakes, and curled so as to bear a strong resemblance to that of the hickory in the North American forests, and of which it strongly reminded me.

Immediately before descending upon Barumgulu, the path is carried by a foot bridge over an impetuous torrent, that comes rattling down from the right, and directly forms a junction with the Barumgulu river. The rivers that descend on the eastward of the pass of Rutun Shah flow on to a junction with the Chunab, and those on the westward of it become feeders of the Jylum.

Barumgulu is singularly placed, upon a spot of flat ground on the west bank of the Púnch river, which descends a dark and deep defile, from its sources in the Panjal; and, after washing the foot of a cliff about 100 feet in height, opposite to the village, turns suddenly to the right, and makes its way through the hills, to Púnch and Kotli. Picturesque banks, covered with forest, rise so steeply and abruptly on all sides, that nothing can be seen from the village, excepting a

* The defile of rains (?).

small Sikh fort upon the cliff I have just mentioned, which commands the village, and a shepherd's hut in an elevated situation on the same direction. The village itself contained about forty flat-roofed cottages, not quite so slovenly as those I had lately been accustomed to; but they were chiefly inhabited by Kashmirians, whose appearance was miserable enough. Its height by thermometer is about 6800 feet.

The way to Kashmir is continued northward up the bed of the stream. Within a very short distance of the village, at the entrance of the defile, my attention was suddenly arrested by the loud roar of a waterfall; and I saw a full stream precipitated over a ledge of rock, from a height of about seventy feet, at the extremity of a dark and deep fissure in the wall of rock by the path-side. But the traveller must be contented with one confined view from below, nor do I imagine that he would better it if his love of the picturesque were to induce him to clamber by a circuitous route to the top of the rock. The fall bore a general resemblance to that of Fyers, on the banks of Loch Ness.

The stream, which descends the ravine with great impetuosity, is crossed and recrossed in the short distance from Barumgulu to Poshiana, by about thirty wooden bridges, each of them about thirty feet in length. Three of them were to be repaired for me, by order of the Rajawur Rajah. The last was not ready when I arrived, and I sat quietly on the bank with my people, whilst the villagers from Barumgulu cut down trees of sufficient length for the purpose; and of one of these, which was upraised and allowed to fall to the opposite bank, was made a bridge to one of the party, who crossed upon it, and then adjusted a second tree, that

was pushed across by the means of the first. Branches were then placed upon them, and made sufficiently secure even for the footing of a horse.

A log-house village in the glen, not far from Baramgulu, is named Chandru-Má, or the Moon. I do not know why; perhaps because the moon seldom shines on it, or, perhaps, because it enjoys but little of the sunlight. The glen is usually very narrow, but in some places the precipitous banks, covered with a pine jungle, came plunging down from a vast height into the very bed of the stream. In others, the mountain seemed bared to the summit by the overwhelming force of the avalanche, and huge trunks of trees, uprooted and sent headlong from above, were piled together in the wildest position, presenting further impediments to the torrent, whose waters were already choked with massy rocks of schist and breccia.

There is, I think, a second and smaller village of log-houses by the stream-side, and at length the path turns up the left bank of the glen; and after a very fatiguing ascent I found myself amongst the flat-roofed log-houses of Poshiana, about 9500 feet above the sea, with a full view of the Burj, or tower, on the Pir Panjal, perched about 2000 feet above me, in a hollow way between two snowy peaks, projected in the boldest relief amongst the dark, driving clouds, that permitted them only to be seen at intervals.

Poshiana is larger than Barumgúlu, and contains, perhaps, 100 houses, whose roofs rest against the bank, by which means they are in some measure protected from the effects of snow-storms. It lies considerably beneath the limit of forest, but there are very

few trees near it. The green slope on the side of which it is built, and whose summit is 700 or 800 feet above it, affords a pasturage for sheep and goats; but the extent of cultivation is nearly confined to turnips; and Poshiana owes its existence entirely to its situation in the highway to Kashmir, on which, or on the plains, it is entirely dependent for supplies of grain, &c.

It is customary, for those who can afford it, to sacrifice a sheep or goat before ascending to the Pir Panjal, and the head is carried to the fakir, who, during the summer months, resides in a stone hut close to the tower. I complied with the custom, at the request of the Mahomedan part of my retinue; the Múlah said a prayer for a safe ascent on the morrow, and the goat was immediately made lawful eating, that is, had its throat cut under a white flag, placed, I believe, to designate the spot where the sacrifice is usually made, in front of my quarters.

From Poshiana there are two ways to the Panjal; one continues up the right bank of the stream, and as the path is marked in the side of a lofty and precipitous bank, I should think it likely that Aurangzyb's elephants, as related by Bernier, fell from it there into the ravine below. I do not know where the Hati Wutur, mentioned by Abu Fuzl, is to be seen;* so called because a certain king used to throw down elephants there, for the pleasure of hearing them cry.

There is another steep but not very long dip to the glen, and on the opposite side of it commences an ascent, which hardly ceases till it reaches the summit of the Panjal. The path was in very good condition,

* Hasti, or Hati, is an elephant, and Wutur is injury.

and I was enabled to ride nearly the whole distance, but cannon on wheels could not at present pass by any road into Kashmir.

On the opposite side of the glen is a small stone building, which I have no doubt has afforded shelter to many a traveller, who would otherwise have perished.

An hour's travel from Poshiana brought me to the edge of the lowest snow, which was arched and hardened over a small stream of its own creation. The forest began to be much thinned, but vegetation was still profuse, and roses, and many other wild flowers, were in full bloom. The hill near the summit is bare of trees, but a fine turf is visible when the snow has melted, and I suddenly found myself on the summit of the Pir Panjal.

An octagonal tower, twenty feet high, built of small loose fragments of rock, and a wooden frame, rears itself over the very brink of the descent; and close to it, on the opposite side of the path, is the stone hut of the Musalman Fakir, who usually has by him a small store of flour, bread, tobacco, and water, and for which travellers are glad to remunerate him in some way or other. He thankfully accepted my offering of the sheep's head, and was still better pleased with a little money which I gave him. He was a good-humoured looking person, short and shaven, with a chubby face, but little intellect in his countenance, and a twinkling expression of cunning in his eye. In winter he cannot remain on the Panjal, on account of the snow, and in the summer months he presents himself wrapped up in the folds of a huge blanket, that envelopes him from head to foot, and makes him look as broad as he is long.

Ayesha, for such was his name, was by no means so great a man as the fakir in Bernier's time, who made a sign to the travellers that they should pass on, and abused those who made any noise, because it excited a tempest, and added, that Aurangzyb and Shah Jehan had done well to follow his advice, but that Jehan Gir, having once derided it, and caused the trumpets and cymbals to be sounded (most likely by the advice of the impetuous Nur Jehan), had raised such a tempest that they were afraid of being lost.

In the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses de quelques Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jésus," the Père Hypolite Desideri, who set out from Goa with the intention of travelling to China on the 27th of November, 1713, and from Lahore on the 19th of October, in the next year, writes of this Pir Panjal pass: —"Les gentils ont un profond respect pour cette montagne; ils y apportent des offrandes, et ils rendent un culte plein de superstitions, à un vénérable vieillard, auquel ils prétendent que la garde de ce lieu est confiée. C'est la sans doute un reste du souvenir qu'ils ont de l'histoire fabuleuse de Promethée, lequel, selon la fiction des poètes, fut attaché au Caucase."

Whatever may be indicated by the play of the lightning, and the presence of the vultures,* the little Fakir whom I saw on the Panjal was certainly

* "On Imaüs bred,
Whose suowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,
To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids,
On hills where flocks are fed, flies towards the springs
Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams," &c.
Paradise Lost, iii. 431.

not a person who looked as if he could act the part of Prometheus.

The view from the Panjal in the direction of the plains is, of course, magnificent. The different ranges which I had crossed on the way from Bhimbur, and even the points, when I had passed them, were visible in the distance. I looked down upon the roofs of Poshiana, where I had slept, and could distinguish the situation, and even the buildings and smoke, of Rajawur. Indistinctness pervaded every part of the grey-coloured expanse of the plains, and I have twice vainly tried with my telescope to detect the minars of Imperial Lahore, which, in very clear weather, are, it is well known, to be perceived with the naked eye, though about 130 miles distant.

The limit of forest, or the height above which forest-trees will not grow, as laid down by Hodgson, Herbert, and the Gerards, from their observations in Alpine India, on the east of the Sutlej, is 11,500 feet, as already mentioned. The summit of the Panjal pass is about 300 feet above the limit of forest; my thermometer gave me about 12,000 feet; so that I am justified in laying down its height at 11,800 feet, or thereabouts. The temperature on July 16th, 1835, was 65°·8 Fahrenheit, at mid-day. Birches and firs seem to contend for the highest place; the birch has the best of it generally. Above this, the only plant that I remember in the shape of a tree is the dwarf juniper, and this is to be seen at different altitudes between 6000 and 12,000 feet, on the mountains round Kashmir and the Tibets.

Two rounded hills, many hundred feet higher than the pass, rise on the right and left of it, and as their

abutments to the south project beyond that part of the ridge which lies between them, the view on either side is necessarily contracted. The descent to Kashmir, which is very gentle, commences immediately, and the snow-capped mountain-tops are divided by an inclined and verdant plain, on which bloomed numerous varieties of flowers. Amongst them I joyfully noticed many that were common in England; and as I trod the green carpet beneath me, I found myself refreshed by inhaling the cool breeze that blew over them, and was richly burdened with all the perfume of an English clover-field.

I have reason to believe that the formation along the whole line of the Pir Panjal is basaltic, it being an amygdaloidal trap, beautifully marked in some situations, but less so at the place I am speaking of. Transition and schistose rocks intervene between the higher ridge and the plains of the valley, and I found slates and quartzose rock *in situ* on the descent.

Panjal is a Persian word, signifying a range of mountains. The Kashmirians call it Pansal, which more properly signifies a station where water is provided for passengers; and the pass called Pir Panjal is so named only because the Pir (for so the fakir is called), that is, the old and holy man, the father confessor, resides upon the summit. The Serai of Allahabad* is on the left of the path, and about four or five miles from the tower. Opposite to it is a gully, through which the stream descends from Nandan Sir; and at the same spot the pathway of the same name joins the high Shupeyon road. The birch-trees begin to appear about the same place, and thence

* The abode of Allah.

downwards to Huripur; the mountains, particularly those on the eastern bank of the pass, are more or less covered with a pine forest.

It is usual to halt for the night at the Serai of Allahabad, and I should advise the traveller to do so in the summer time, in order that he may ascend to some of the neighbouring peaks, and obtain a view of the mountains on the other side of Kashmir, and he may rest assured that he will be repaid for his trouble. From Allahabad downwards the banks close on each side of the path, which in one place has been partly cut from, and partly constructed on, the side of a precipice.

The tower of Lál Gholám* is the first object that attracted my attention. It resembles the tower on the Panjal, and is used as a customhouse by the Sikhs. The defile here is extremely narrow, and the stream occupies the whole of the space between its banks; but it soon afterwards opens upon a splendid view. The valley of the stream suddenly sinks below the level of the path, and I looked down upon a beautiful meadow, from which the precipitous slopes of the Panjal suddenly rose with all their majesty, and clothed with a fir-forest to the very bed of the stream that rushed along their bases. The old road descended to the Serai, that was built, probably by Akber, in the centre of the flat, and which is now of little or no use, excepting as an ornament to the landscape. Two or three other towers, upon the hillocks around, seemed to have been placed there, in order to answer the double purposes of revenue and defence.

* Literally the Red Slave, perhaps only a name.

I cannot identify any cataract with the great fall described by Bernier. I have seen but one on the Pir Panjal road, that at Barumgulu, which certainly does not answer the description. It would do for Arabul, near Huripur, excepting with regard to the height of the fall. I think it very possible, but am by no means certain, from the disposition of the ground, that there may be one not far from the Serai I have just mentioned; from near which it might be seen, as he says it was, *en passant.* The present path, however, runs far above the old one, which was used by Aurangzyb; and not having Bernier's Travels with me, nor hearing of a water-fall, and having moreover seen Niagara, I did not descend towards its probable locality.

I continued to descend by the path which led through the forest, and passed two or three large log-houses, built for the accommodation of travellers and shepherds. The stream, which was then swollen into a furious torrent, is crossed by a wooden bridge; and, at no great distance beyond it, I found myself at Huripur, on its right bank, where a concourse of people were waiting to see me make my *entrée;* and among them was the Thanadar of Shupeyon, with a present of provisions, and an officer from Colonel Mihan Singh, the governor of Kashmir, who had been sent to offer his compliments and a welcome to the valley, and who was also the bearer of an order that I and my people should be provided with supplies as the guest of the Maharajah.

Huripur,* or Hirapur,† is a very small village,

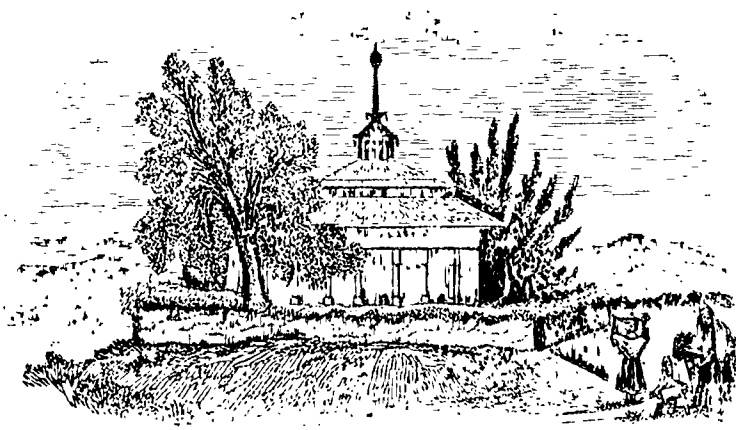
* The City of Huri, Vishnu or Siva. † The diamond city.

surrounded by a forest: an old Serai, much out of repair, stands close by it, and the Pir Panjal, or Shupeyon river, better known as the Rimbiára, flows beneath it; its western bank being a perpendicular wall of indurated clay; whilst on the eastward of the village are some masses of shingly conglomerate. At Huripur the steepness of descent into the valley, which is also known by the name of Sona Gulu, or the golden defile, may be said to have ceased; and on the next morning, after proceeding for two or three miles through the woods in the direction of Shupeyon, the plains of Kashmir came full in sight. The lofty mountains on the other side of the valley, distant from thirty to thirty-five miles, were shrouded in clouds, and a part only of the snowy ridge, and a few isolated peaks, were to be seen here and there at intervals.

As I approached Shupeyon, seven miles from Huripur, the valley had opened on the right of the path; on the left a mass of alluvium continued to rise from the river-side for several miles in advance of Huripur; and at last its waters are fairly rippling over their stony bed, to a junction with the Veshau, which latter river joins the Jylum, on the opposite side of the valley, immediately afterwards.

Shupeyon is five and a half miles from Huripur. The first object on nearing the former town is a wooden musjid, or mosque, by the path-side, and standing on a bank, whence there is a view in the direction of the city of Kashmir; seen, however, to far greater advantage from the Shupeyon hill. The mosque is of the same pattern as that which I afterwards found to be common throughout the valley. It partakes of the aspect and architecture of the pagoda

of China, but the slope of the roof is straight instead of being concave. Its basement, ten to twenty yards square, is of stone or wood, raised a few feet from the ground, and on which are ranged eight or ten pillars deeply grooved, and having their bases and capitals enveloped in fantastically shaped leaves. The Saracenic arches and cornices are elaborately carved, and bearing pendulous ornaments in the Chinese fashion. The interior building is also four-sided, and is generally a beautiful specimen of wood-work. The windows and doors are Saracenic, with rich lattice-worked panels instead of glass. The roof, or roofs, for there are two or three, may be pronounced Tuscan, rising one above the other, each being less than the one below it; and the top is surmounted by a much smaller cluster of little pillars, over which is another little Tuscan roof, and a conical spire, and a brazen ornament, like an inverted basin, on the shaft of a weathercock. The annexed engraving will, however, give a better idea of it than can be obtained by description. The general appearance is exceedingly



Musjid of Deodar, at the entrance of the Valley by the Shupeyon Road.

picturesque; and I think I may venture to assure the parked and well-wooded proprietors of England, or any one who may wish to build a summerhouse or other ornamental structure, that the effect of such as I have described will not suffer from a change of locality. In Kashmir the whole is of deodar or Himalaya cedar.

Shupeyon is a Kusabah, and was once the residence of a Malek. A Kusabah is a large town containing a bazaar. Islamabad, Bij Beara, Pampur, Shahbad, Sopur, Baramula, Patun, and Cherar, or Shah-nur-u-Din, either are, or have formerly been, Kusabas, or market towns.

The present Maleks, or sub-governors, it is said by some, were first instituted in the time of Akber. They had power of imprisonment and of life and death, with a reference to the governor of the valley. The principal were those of Gurys, Duras, Muruwurdwun, Shahbad, and Shupeyon, which are the principal places by which the valley can be entered, and at which its revenue was collected.

The old name of the district in which Shupeyon is situated is Batu. Shupeyon was also called Shahrah, or the king's highway, and was, I conclude, a name given by the Moguls; the word is probably composed of the Turki word "Tsu," water, or the torrent, and "paien"—below, or beneath, or at the foot of. It is now, comparatively speaking, a miserable place, bearing the impress of having once been a thriving town. Its dwellings, now chiefly in ruins, are but the remains of what were once houses, of two or three or four stories in height, with gable-ends and sloping roofs of wood. Large sheets of birch-bark, which is nearly impervious to moisture, are laid over the rafters, and

over these is spread a mixture of earth, which is often planted with flowers. The walls are built of brick, burnt or sun-dried, and secured in a frame of wood, as a prevention against the effects of an earthquake.

In the farm-houses the upper stories are often entirely of wood. The windows are rectangular, numerous, and disposed in rows, as in Europe. Exquisitely finished trellis-work, displaying a great variety of Moorish pattern, usurps the place of a window-frame: the thin paper of the country is pasted over it, and does duty for glass; so that warmth is thus obtained at the expense of light. Still there was a something wanting, and I perceived that there was an absence of chimneys and chimney-pots. Some of the rooms have fire-places, but the smoke is allowed to escape through a hole in the wall above them. There is, however, on the roofs of many of the houses, a trap-door, whose principal use is that of affording access to the snow that may be lodged on it, and might do damage either by its weight or its moisture; and this, when raised and supported by props, might easily be mistaken for a chimney. The houses are usually, as I have remarked, separate, with small gardens between them; orchards of standard fruit-trees are usually attached to them, and, in their proper seasons, mulberries, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, and roses, are to be had in abundance. On the 18th of July, at 7 A.M., the thermometer stood at 66°·8; it stood at 77° in the shade, at 2 P.M.; and at the boiling point, it gave me an elevation of about 6500 feet; at Shupeyon.

It may be advisable to insert in this place the names of the thirty-six Pergunahs (or hundreds) of

Kashmir, and of the chief town or village of each of them.

1. Deosir, *capital* Kuligám.
2. Ardewen, *cap.* Mohunpora.
3. Shukru, *cap.* Drabogám.
4. Shupeyon Shahrah, or Batu, *cap.* Shupeyon.
5. Nagám, *cap.* Chodra.
6. Zynapur, *cap.* Wucheh.
7. Sopor-Samun, *cap.* Auriel.
8. Banihal, *cap.* Kosah Kot.
9. Shahbad, *cap.* Shahbad.
10. Bureng, *cap.* Sahagam and Luk-i-Bowun.
11. Kotehar, *cap.* Changus.
12. Mar-Tund, *cap.* Bowun.
13. Anat Nag, *cap.* Islamabad.
14. Duchin Para, *cap.* Kunzelwun.
15. Kahaura-Para, *cap.* Eish-Makam.
16. Sayur-i-Muzi Bala, *cap.* Bij Beara.
17. Sayur-i-Muzi-paien, *cap.* Simbul.
18. Trahal, *cap.* Trahal.
19. Vehi, *cap.* Pampur.
20. Pahak, *cap.* Shalamar.
21. Lal, *cap.* Nunur.
22. Kohihama, *cap.* Bundurpur.
23. Zynagyr, *cap.* Sopor.
24. Muchihama, *cap.* same name.
25. Tylagam, *cap.* same name.
26. Kruhin, *cap.* Sarafras Khan and Nushera, on the other side of the Panjal.
27. Perg of Duchu.
28. Perg of Bangil.
29. Muchipora, *cap.* Baramula.
30. Yech, *cap.* Karalapur.
31. Shaura, *cap.* Litur.
32. Cherat, *cap.* Murun.
33. Humel, *cap.* Chaughul.
34. Auter (the north), *cap.* Terukpur.
35. Muchipora, *cap.* Gurigám.
36. Lolab, *cap.* Lolur.

Of these Nagám and Deosir are the largest; each contains more than 200 villages, or remains of villages.

In a line between Huripur and Sedau is the hill of Noubadan, or Nunubdhun, upon which Kasyapa, or Kashuf,* is said to have passed a thousand years in religious austerities, by which the favour of Mahadeo was secured; so that he gave orders for the desiccation of the valley.

* Kashuf, literally signifies a Tortoise.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER IX.

Major Rennell—Geology of the Valley of Kashmir—The three Lakes—Flood-gates—Sikh Forts—Granite Rocks—The Jylum—Limestone Region—Singular Burning Ground—The Great Earthquake of 1828—Character of the Valley of Kashmir—Cataract on the Jylum—City Lake—Extraordinary Changes in the Valley—Origin of the Karywas or Elevated Plains—The Hill of Shupeyon—Snowy Mountains—Climate of the Valley—The Baramula Pass—Parasites of the Governor—Curious Mode of Angling—Himalaya Trout—Kosah Nag—Kashmirian Kulis—Mountain Streams—Extraordinary Mountain Lake—Its Origin—Bernier's Account of the Lake—Native Traditions and Legends—Descent from the Lake—The River of Vishnu—Hindu Shrine—Tomb of Hyder Malek—Singular Eminences—Beautiful View—Shepherds of Kashmir—Cowherds—Flocks and Herds of the Valley—Herds of Horses—Abu Fuzl—Banditti—Their Suppression by Sher Singh—Daring Outrages—The Royal Race of Kashmir—Jehan Gir—Royal Watchmen—The best Road out of Kashmir—Beautiful Strath—Mountain Villages—Kol Narawa Pass—Imperial City—A Kashmirian Old Parr—Reverence for Age—A Heronry—Heron Plumes—Mode of obtaining the Feathers—Village of Deosir—Cultivation of Rice and Cotton in Kashmir.

J. & C. Walker Sculp.

Published by Henry Colburn, Marlborough Street 1842.

CHAPTER IX.

MAJOR RENNELL, with his usual judgment and discrimination, remarks, "So far am I from doubting the existence of the lake that covered Cashmere, that appearances alone would serve to convince me, without either the tradition or the history."* In the full persuasion that there is abundant evidence in favour of, and none against, this conjecture, I proceed to point out to my readers the facts upon which that persuasion is grounded.

The Panjals around Kashmir are basaltic; their usual formation being a beautiful amygdaloidal trap: I have visited almost all its passes, and found it at the summits of all of them excepting that of the Duras pass, which is three days' journey from the valley, and the top of which is covered with slate. I do not also include the Baramula pass, through which the river flows. Several of the smaller hills scattered over the valley are of the same formation: of such is the hill of Shupeyon, the Tukt-i-Suliman, and the Huri Purbut, the smaller eminence of Aha Thung, Shukr-u-Din on the Wulur lake, and Baba Hanuf-i-Din, the Chaughul ranges, and many others at the northern end of the valley.† In many places, but chiefly on the southern,

* *Vide* Rennell's "Memoir on the Map of Hindustan," p. 107.

† *Vide* the map, for the position of these hills.

south-eastern, and south-western sides of the valley, the surface is composed of fine grey-coloured, compact mountain limestone, containing here and there marine fossils, in which I have seen belemnites and small shells.

The most recent fossil formation occurs on the eastern side of the Manasa Bul lake; it is full of nummullites, and bears a resemblance to the limestone on the Indus, at Sywan, above Hydrabad in Sind. I am not aware that there are any fresh-water deposits in the valley; but the nature of the deposits will make no difference in this case, as to the great question whether the valley has been drained or not.

The limestone, in most cases, has been contorted and twisted in every possible direction, having evidently been uplifted, and broken through the trappean rock from beneath. In some instances, as on the bank of the Shesha Nag lake, on the way to Amur Nath, the same contorted strata are visible at the height of 13,000 feet. In others, as at Islamabad and a little hill near Pampur, the same limestone has been lifted but a few hundred feet above the bottom of the valley; and at the southern edge of the Saffron Ground, the course of the river has been turned by the limestone ridges that have been elevated perpendicularly in the centre of the plain. I have also observed a cliff formed by disturbed limestone strata, near the bridge of Laj Gazon, over a mountain-stream which is crossed on the way between Sedau and the Kosah Nag, on the southern side of the valley.

Not far from Huripur, in the jungle on the south of the path, are the remains of solid masses of shingly conglomerate: and an accidental rock of the same sub-

stance is to be seen on the plain near the spring of Panzut. At Akhun Mullah Shah, near Nunur, are the massive portions of a beach that has been detached from its position. Similar remains are still adhering to the southern face of the hill of Islamabad, and other eminences. On the way from Islamabad to Eysh Makam, where the Karywas are joined on to the higher mountains, which is exactly where we should expect to see them, there are the remains of a beach lying, as they were originally deposited, in horizontal and undisturbed layers, against the distorted strata of the limestone rock.

The Karywas, or elevated plains, appearing in the centre of the valley, are composed of the finest alluvial soil, usually free from shingle. Their surface is verdant, and generally smooth as a bowling-green; but they are divided and deeply furrowed by mountain-streams from the Pir Panjal in their way to the Jylum, which flows along the eastern side and deepest part of the valley. The beds of these torrents are of various widths, and usually covered with rounded stones. The space, where the floods have undermined and cleared away the Karywas, is occupied by rice-fields raised in plateaux, and containing large loose angular blocks of stone, lying on a rich soil.

The City Lake, the Manasa Lake, and the Wulur or Great Lake, are connected with the Jylum, remaining such only because their beds are deeper than that of the river, and subject to decrease as the pass wears away, and to be filled up by the deposits and detritus from the surrounding mountains. Hakrit Sar (the lake of weeds) is also a weedy and extensive morass, in the centre of the valley, separated longitudinally from

the river by a dam, but communicating with it by means of canals and flood-gates. Were it not for the dams which confine the river in many places, the lower surface of the valley would be entirely covered in flood-time. On the southern side of the river, before its arrival at Baramula, an immense quantity of alluvium is extended from the slopes of the Pir Panjal into the plain. The open space at Nushera, which is outside of, and very nearly on a level with, the valley itself, is divided from it by a low rocky ridge covered with alluvium.

Not far from the Sikh forts of Shenkur (or Sankara) Gurh, between Baramula and Uri, the bare cliffs of schistose rock rise perpendicularly, to the height of from 500 to 1000 feet from the bed of the valley of the river, where it is narrowed to about a quarter of a mile in width, and the salient and re-entering angles are such as to convince me that they have been separated by a convulsion.

It may, perhaps, also be right to notice the enormous erratic blocks of granite in the pass, near the old building called Bryn Kutri,* above Uri. I know of no granite in Kashmir excepting on Hara-Muk, but not *in situ*. Hara-Muk rises opposite to the entrance of the Baramula pass. And the same medium must have floated or forced the granite of Deotsuh to either place from the northward.

At Uri, in the pass, a rocky barrier has been thrown across the bed of the river, from one mountain to the other, and has been partly separated by convulsion, and partly worn by the action of the stream, where it is not more than fifteen yards across.

* The place, I believe, of the Kutri, or Rajputs.

I may here remark, that I have nowhere observed in these mountains that the primary rocks have apparently been worn by a torrent, from a greater height than eighty feet; but I have seen places, as at Bungala Bul above Gurys for instance, where the limestone appears to have been worn from an elevation of 150 feet.

Immediately above the gap at Uri, the channel of the river is enlarged, and a kind of basin has been formed, in which there is a perfectly level deposit of alluvium, deeply worn into by the river, the sides of whose bed seem to be formed of large loose rounded blocks of granite, intermixed with a not very compact soil.

Immediately below the gap, the Jylum enters an amphitheatre, where it is joined by the stream from the Púnch Panjal, whose impetuosity has also worn a deep bed in a lofty and flat-surfaced bank of alluvium, caused apparently by the former presence of a head water. Lower down, just below the village of Nushera, the river is again narrowed, and its waters rush with great fury through its steep, bare, and precipitous sides, whilst a tall and isolated pillar of rock still offers resistance to the waters that rage around its base; and in every part of the pass there is the plainest evidence of the river having worn its way through the masses of alluvium with which it has been filled.

The limestone region may generally be said to comprise parts of Kashmir, Gurys, and part of the Duras pass, where, at Sonawarun, rises one of the noblest peaks of limestone that I have ever seen. I do not know of its existence between the Panjal and the plains; at least, the only place where I remember to have seen any quantity is on the Kishen Gunga river above Mazuferabad, where there is also a quantity of

gypsum. The ranges that intervene between Kashmir and the plains, and on either side of the basaltic formation of the Pir Panjal, are generally, I believe, of sienitic rock slate, schist, and sandstone, and pebbly conglomerate; the latter similar to that of the Sivalik range south of the Dhera Dún,—which, had the force below been sufficient, would have been thus formed, as I have already remarked, into a valley similar to that of Kashmir. The abutments of the Sivalik hills, however, are towards the south; whilst those of the sandstone or conglomerate ranges in the Panjab are generally towards the north, as may be more particularly seen on the way from Chinini to Ramnagur, the way from Myhil Mori to Kumlah Gurh, and the first and second sandstone ranges between Bhimbur and Rajawur. So that it may not, perhaps, be out of place to remark, that the former appear to have been raised by a force acting directly upon themselves, and the latter seem to have been elevated by resting on the shoulders of the higher mountains to the northward of them.

The most singular place in Kashmir is Suhoyum, the "burning ground" mentioned by Abu Fuzl, in the Ayin Akberi. It lies near the village of Nichi-Hama, in the Pergunah of Muchipora, at the north-west end of the valley, where the plain is about 6100 feet in height. About thirty-six years ago, an intense heat was found to issue from the spot,—which is about an acre in size, and in which there are three places more particularly burned. A similar phenomenon had been observed about thirteen years before. The soil, which is a mixture of clay with a little sand, has been fused by the heat from below. One bank is

twenty feet above the other. It burned in the time of Atar Mohamed Khan, the Patan Governor, for the space of one month. A white smoke was occasionally seen to issue from the soil, but no fire or sulphureous smell was perceivable, and no fissures opened in the ground. The Pundits hastily assembled from all quarters, scraped away the earth, and placed there their brass cooking vessels, with rice and water in them. The rice was cooked in half an hour, and then scattered around for the birds to feed upon, the Pundits meanwhile offering up their prayers. No earthquake took place at the time, no noises were heard, nor did any heat or smoke appear there when the great earthquake took place in 1828.

I should think that few would withhold their belief in the fact of volcanic action now being at work under the valley of Kashmir, after listening to an account of this earthquake.

On the night of the 26th of June, 1828,* at half-past ten, a very severe shock was felt, which shook down a great many houses, and killed a great number of people: perhaps 1000 persons were killed, and 1200 houses shaken down; although, being built with a wooden framework, the houses are less liable to fall than an edifice of brick or stone. The earth opened in several places about the city; and fetid water, and rather warm, rose rapidly from the clefts, and then subsided. These clefts being in the soil, soon closed again, and left scarcely any traces. I saw the remains of one fifteen yards long and two wide; but it was filled up, or nearly. Huge rocks and stones came rattling down

* Twenty-fourth of Zilheja, year of the Hegira 1244.

from the mountains. On that night only one shock took place; but just before sunrise there was another, accompanied by a terrific and lengthened explosion, louder than a cannon. On that day there were twenty such shocks, each with a similar explosion.

The inhabitants were, of course, in the open country. The river sometimes appeared to stand still, and then rushed forward. For the remaining six days of Zilheja, and the whole of the two next months of Moharrem and Safur, there were never less than 100, and sometimes 200 or more shocks in the day, all accompanied with an explosion; but it was remarked, that when the explosion was loudest, the shock was the less. On the sixth day, there was one very bad shock, and on the fifteenth, at three o'clock, was the worst, and there were three out of the whole number that were very loud.

At the end of the two above-mentioned months, the number decreased to ten or fifteen in the twenty-four hours, and the noise became less, and the earthquakes gradually ceased. About this time the cholera made its appearance. A census of the dead was taken at first, but discontinued when it was found that many thousands had died in twenty-one days.

In Kashmir there had been no great earthquake before, within the memory of any living person, excepting one about fifty years ago, which was rather severe, that lasted, at intervals, for a week. An earthquake is mentioned in Prinsep's tables, as having taken place in A. D. 1552. Shocks are now common, and the houses are built with a wooden framework, so as to resist them. They are still more common, I should say, at Kabul, where I have felt three or four in

four months; but they are usually too slight to do harm.

The valley of Kashmir is, generally, a verdant plain, ninety miles in length, and twenty-five and a half in its greatest width, which is at the southern end, between the cataract of Arabul and the ruins of the great temple of Martund: surrounded on every side by snowy mountains, into which there are numerous inlets forming straths on a level with the plain; but all having a lofty pass at their upper extremity. In consequence of the disposition of the mountains near Baramula, where the Jylum makes its exit, the walls of the valley appear, excepting from very near the place itself, to be there as unbroken and undivided as in every other part of the horizon. And there are many elevated points of view, from which this extraordinary hollow gave me, at first sight, an idea of its having been originally formed by the falling in of an exhausted volcanic region. I speak of the idea created by a first sight of its general appearance merely, as such a theory is not, I think, confirmed by an examination in detail.

I infer from the foregoing data and observations, that the basaltic ridges around Kashmir have been raised from beneath, and through extensive beds of limestone in the deep ocean; that the mountains near Shenkur Gurh in the Baramula pass, which would otherwise have opposed the exit of the waters altogether in that quarter, were rent asunder at the same time; but that the lower accidental barriers, such as that immediately below Baramula, at Uri, and below Nushera, although also, and particularly the latter, partially divided more or less by convulsions, were yet sufficiently elevated to oppose the free passage of a

great part of the alluvium carried by the flood in its course down the pass; and, consequently, the pass was, as it evidently has been, choked up with deposit, over and through which the waters from the newly formed lake have gradually formed a deeper channel for themselves. Further, that in consequence of the occasional barriers of hard rock, a succession of pools and head waters, such as at Nushera, have formed above them; that these have disappeared as the bed of the river became more uniformly level; that below the gap at Uri, where the action of the river is observable on the perpendicular walls of the rock for a height of fifty or sixty feet above it, the cross action of the Púnch Panjal river has very materially contributed suddenly to deepen the bed of the Jylum, as it flows through the amphitheatre in the mountains immediately below the gap; and that as this must have taken place beneath the western face of the solid rock, it is probable that the Jylum once poured its waters over the ledge, in a cataract of great magnificence.

The sudden breaking up and carrying away of any part of the obstacles in the pass may, of course, have caused sudden subsidencies in the level of the lake. There is, I think, some evidence of this to be observed in the side of the plain on the north bank of the Lidur, where the limestone has the appearance of having been worn into a succession of shelving beaches. But I have not noticed any elsewhere.

I think it not improbable, although the upper portions of the limestone covering the mountain-side above the Manasa Bul Lake is as much contorted and twisted as any in the valley, that the shells forming the masses of less compact limestone at the edge of the lake, may

have been contained in the waters of the ocean which the valley retained within itself; as, if my memory serve me, there is some appearance of original deposit in horizontal and undisturbed layers, although their edges have been much worn by the action of the river when its bed was higher than at present. But whether this be the case or not, or whether the existence of fresh-water deposits be subsequently proved, are questions which do not, as I have before remarked, affect that of the draining of the valley. Brackish water is found in the wells in the city; in fact, no water at the bottom of the valley is very good for drinking, excepting that of the river itself. The salt water of the original lake must, of course, have gradually disappeared, under the influx of the numerous fresh-water streams in the valley. Many of the mountain rivers, particularly the Indus, can still shew evident proofs of their having found their way through beds of shingle, that were to all appearance originally carried up from the bottom of the ocean. I have frequently seen masses of it, particularly on the Nubra branch of the Indus, adhering, at an elevation of many hundred feet, to the bare precipices above the stream, in places where a projecting rock has protected it from the wear and tear of the flood as it passed by it. The valley of Gurys contains a great mass of alluvium at its northern end; and in that of Iskardo there is a vast quantity of muddy deposit, worn into banks, hollows, and pinnacles, on some table-rock, at the height of 600 or 700 feet above the Indus, from which its position alone has evidently protected it, as there is no other in any other part of the valley.

I believe that the great proportion of the shingly

conglomerate, which must have been originally included within the vale of Kashmir, and of which, in places protected from the wear and tear of the water, I have shewn that there is some still remaining, must have been broken up gradually, and carried away by the river, or mixed with and sunk in the soil produced by the detritus from either side of the valley. The enormous quantity of soil still remaining in the valley, when there is, comparatively speaking, so litttle in the neighbouring countries, is owing to its escape having been so much prevented by the filling up of the Baramula pass. The flat surfaces of the Karywas, whose cliffs are 150 to 200 feet above the lowest part of the valley, is attributable to their having for ages remained at the bottom of a still lake, perhaps at least 300 feet above its present level at the bottom of that valley. If I may judge by the movable elevation of the first-made barrier at Baramula, their existence is partly owing to their being no longer acted upon by the streams that have reduced them to their present size and shape, and partly to their being protected, as are those of Islamabad and Pampur, by a nucleus of solid rock.

It is, I think, quite evident that the waters which once fed the lake of the valley are now pouring themselves into the bed of the Jylum, which has gradually worn itself a channel in the lowest part of it; and that the reason why the Karywas on either extremity of the broad belt of meadow-land on its banks, in the upper part of its course, are suddenly terminated in a succession of cliffs, is because the highest floods of the river, after it had once settled itself in its present channel, have not been able to extend their ravages

laterally beyond the point marked by the line of their bases.

For the foregoing reasons, I fully believe in the tradition of the natives, as to the valley having been originally a lake, of between 300 or 400 feet in depth. But I also believe its drainage to have been the work of time; and I do not think there is foundation for that part of the tradition which would refer its desiccation to the effect of a *sudden* and *subsequent* formation of an outlet through the Baramula pass.

The Hill of Shupeyon, or Lahun Tur, to which we now return, rises from the plain about one mile and a half from the town. It is composed of trap, and is about 350 feet above the plain, and is conspicuous from almost every part of the valley, and the more so on account of the clump of fir-trees on its summit. I thence enjoyed a first and excellent view of the valley, which was hardly broken throughout its whole length of ninety miles, and entirely surrounded by snowy mountains. Its greatest width is on the right, or at the southern end, as already mentioned. The Tukt-i-Suliman, near the city, is twenty-seven miles distant, in a straight line north of Shupeyon. The fort on Huri Purbut is just beyond it, the city lying between them; and farther on is the little rounded hill of Aha Thung, projecting from the higher range. Farther to the left, over the extreme and north-western end of the valley, are seen the snowy mountains of Durawur, on the banks of the Kishen Gunga; and on the left of these, the little hills of Poshkur Bal, and Hanuf-u-Din, in the valley itself, may be distinguished with difficulty; and the whole of the intervening slopes from the Pir Panjal, from the snow

downwards into the valley, are covered, more or less, with a magnificent forest of pines, thirty miles in length, and from three to seven miles in width. The noble peak of Kol Narawa rises conspicuously on the southern end; and an unbroken range of snowy mountains occupies the horizon to the eastward; and from these appear to descend three that are lower, but which, with the straths between them, occupy the whole space between Islamabad and the city. They are called Dudina,* near Islamabad; Wurstur Wun,† near Wentipur; and Pandu, or Pantur Chakk,‡ rises close to the northern front of the Tukt-i-Suliman. The Jylum flows almost the whole length of the valley, but is not seen from Shupeyon. The little hill of Islamabad is a remarkable object in the direction of Dudina. The trees upon Samur-Thung mark the position of Bij Beara; and in the direction of the city, but many miles beyond it, on the other side of the Duras road, are the hoary masses of the great mountain of Hara-Muk, peering over the sacred waters of the Gunga Bal and the Wulur Lake.

The northern bank of the plain of Khampur is extended on the plain, in the direction of the city. A slightly elevated ridge in the foreground, in the same direction, was pointed out as that of Deopur, where, in 1819, the Sikhs gained the victory by which Runjit became master of Kashmir. Innumerable villages were scattered over the plains in every direction, distinguishable in the extreme distance by the trees that surrounded them: all was soft and verdant, even up to the snow on the mountain-top; and I gazed in sur-

* The cloudy mountain. † The jungle-covered.

‡ The giant king.

prise, excited by the vast extent and admirably defined limits of the valley, and the almost perfect proportions of height to distance, by which its scenery appeared to be universally characterised.

Some apology will, I know, be expected by my readers, for the repetition of remarks on the landscape. I have, therefore, endeavoured to curtail and vary the descriptions as much as possible; but I ask of them to remember that the name of the valley has been ever associated with a high picturesque idea; that Kashmir is not India; that its glens, glades, forests, and streams, are truly Alpine; and that, as Mr. Elphinstone has remarked in his late excellent work on Hindustan, vol. ii. p. 284, "It is placed by its elevation above the reach of the heat of Hindustan, and sheltered by the surrounding mountains from the blasts of the higher regions: it enjoys a delicious climate, and exhibits in the midst of snowy summits a scene of continual verdure, and almost of perpetual spring," &c. And when to this I add that almost every mile of the country can display attractions for the antiquary, the geologist, and the artist, I hope to be excused for what may be termed an error on the right side.

The interest taken in a view of the mere plains of Kashmir would certainly be rather that of the agriculturist than of the prospect-hunter; but nothing can be more truly sylvan than the greater part of the mountain scenery around them. It has not, however, the verdure of the tropics. The trees, it is true, in many instances, may differ from those of Europe; but with the exception of the beautiful masses of deodars in the Baramula pass, the aspect

of the forest at a little distance is wholly European; and although it may resemble the best of European scenery, yet European scenery is not the best. The precipice may be as bold, the dell may be as deep, the cataract may speak as loudly, the general disposition of the landscape may be as grand, and Nature, in fact, may have made the most of her materials; but the colour and outline discernible in a forest of the finest English oaks, which we venerate for a hundred reasons, will not appear unexceptionable in the eyes of any one who has witnessed the profuse grandeur of a tropical vegetation; and the lover of Nature would miss the variety afforded by the waving bambu, the graceful palms, the broad pendent leaves of the cocoa-nut or the plantain-tree; and what seems more within the power of an English landowner, the embellishment afforded by the long sweeping festoons, and the brilliant autumnal scarlet, of the hedera quinque-folia, common vine, and other parasitical plants.

There is little to induce the traveller to make an incursion into the plain, at the commencement of his tour in the valley from Huripur. The parasites of the governor, who now flocked around me, urged me to go and visit the city at once. Had I done so, they would not have failed to have spread abroad that I had done so from a wish to pay him a kind of ultra respect; but as I was becoming more awake to the motives and representations of the Orientals, I sent the governor my salaam, and excused myself by saying that, as I was there, it would be a pity to leave this part of the valley entirely unseen; and on the next morning I proceeded in the direction of Islamabad;

although I would not now advise any one to do so, but to turn to the right on entering the valley, and march regularly around it. The half-way halt, however, between Shupeyon and Islamabad, is made at the large village of Mohunpúr, or that of Saf-Nagur,* a miserable hamlet on the plain of Zynapur. It stands in the middle of the plain, and embosomed in an almost treeless ravine. I have seen fish caught by the hand, in a stream that runs through it, so narrow that a good hunter would clear it in some places. Five or six men enter the water, which is up to their middle, and purposely disturb the mud: the fish, thus blinded, seek refuge under the roots of the bank, and are there taken very easily. One species was a fish which I believe to have been the white mullet of the Indian streams; another was the Himalaya trout; and another, a new, I believe, and very curious little fish, called the Rama Gád, or fish of Rama, all which I describe elsewhere. Saf-Nagur is the property of Khoja Mohamed Shah Sáhib, one of the principal Musalmans in Kashmir, whose friendly attentions I shall not fail to notice.

But I must now request my readers to return to Shupeyon, that I may conduct them round the valley, commencing from the right of Huripur. For this purpose they must splash away with me through the hedgeless rice-fields with which the flat country is so much covered, towards the village of Sedau, leaving Shupeyon, and another large village called Mehmindar, famous for its manufacture of blankets, on the northward.

I have already noticed the Sedau pass to the Pan-

* The Clean City.

jab, and we must now leave that small but pretty village, and reascend the Panjab, to visit the Kosah Nag, lying on the summit between the basaltic peaks. In order to arrive at this celebrated lake, whence flow the principal head-waters of the Jylum, it is necessary to pass a night or two on the mountains, even in the summer months. But there is plenty of fuel; and I was therefore enabled to reach it at so late a period as the beginning of December, after a bivouack of two nights on the snow, which had fallen a month before the usual time, and had therefore partly disappeared under the sun's rays. The Kashmirian kulis furnished by the Sikh authorities were not, as may be supposed, very willing to encounter what to them seemed a very unnecessary hardship; but by dint of threats, promises, and perseverance, I succeeded in reaching the bank of the Kosah Nag on the third morning.

The stream which descends from the lake, and which is, in fact, the incipient Veshau, is said by the natives to be the largest river in Kashmir, the Jylum excepted. I ascended on its left bank, and its full, strong torrent is suddenly seen gushing out from the foot of the last and lofty eminence that forms the dam on the western end of the lake, whose waters thus find an exit, not over, but through the rocky barrier with which it is surrounded.

On the slope which faces the Panjab, a stream of much greater magnitude, I was told by the people who were with me (for I did not see it, on account of the distance and the quantity of snow), has found its way in a similar manner through the mountain-side, and rolls downwards to a junction with the Chunab. I have before mentioned that this may

possibly be the Thana and Rajawur river, but am by no means sure of it.

The level of this far-famed mountain lake, judging from the limit of forest, must be, I think, higher than that of the Pir Panjal pass. I should say it was about 12,000 feet: its length (I saw it when the water was very low) did not exceed three-fourths of a mile; and its breadth might be from 500 to 600 yards. Its position is the same as that of the valley, north-west and south-east. At the eastern end the banks slope gently downward to the water's edge, leaving a gulf between them, through which another part of the Panjal is visible, and which also, in summer time, affords a channel by which the melted snows can pass into the lake. There is verdure on this, and the western bank or dam, which is steeper; and when I saw it, it was about sixty feet above the level of the water; and the distance from the water's edge to the debouchure of the Veshau, on the side of the bank, was about a quarter of a mile. But on the northern and southern sides the bare rock rises very abruptly from the water, at an angle of about forty degrees with its level, and with an inclination towards the east.

The peaks which are on the eastern side are called the Koserin Kutur, and are the highest in the Pir Panjal. They are not more than 1400 feet above the water; and I should allow 13,500 feet as the extreme elevation of any part of the Pir Panjal. The peaks are remarkably pointed, the sides are bare and scarped, and to all appearance the valley of the lake has been formed by the forcible separation of the mountain-top. Judging from the angle at which they enter the lake, the bottom must originally have been about 200 feet

in depth below the present level of the water; though the depth may have been slightly decreased by the soil and detritus brought into it by the melting of the snows, which, when in full action, makes a difference of forty feet in the level of this great mountain reservoir — one of the finest and most elevated that are drained by the Indus. It had in some places the appearance of great depth; in others I thought I distinguished the rock near the surface of the water, which in many places was dark and dull-looking, and bore a resemblance to thin ice. The fresh and unworn appearance of the eastern side forbids the idea that this extraordinary place had ever been the crater of a volcano; which the more irregular and heaped-up appearance of the western bank, combined with the knowledge that it is not a very compact mass (a knowledge derived from the fact of the waters of the lake having found their way through it), might otherwise have tended to encourage. But it is evident that the vacuity had been formed by the sinking of the lower and of the tabular rocks on the eastern bank, and that the northern bank, or dam, remains more rounded, in consequence of its not having been sufficiently a sharer in the force which has upraised the other. The formation is a beautiful amygdaloid, containing spots of quartz in a dull, dark, purple-coloured matrix. I asked a native what he called the rock, a specimen of which I had just struck off. He replied that it was the *chitur* (for *chichuk*) *deyu*, or the devi's small-pox, and that it was a disease in the rock caused by the evil eye. The formation, I have already remarked, is very common in Kashmir. That around the Gunga Bul, at the same elevation, on the mountain of Hara-

muk, on the opposite side of the valley, and forty miles distant, is the same; and it is singular that the Shesha Nag, at about the same elevation, on the way to the cave of Umur Nath, is surrounded by lofty and distorted strata of mountain limestone.

I have seen many fountains in Kashmir, and do not know the one which Bernier describes as ejecting a fine sand; but I am much inclined to think that the great lake which he describes as having ice upon it in the summer time, which the wind drives about in masses on the surface, is the Kosah Nag. I much doubt whether ice remains upon its surface during the whole of the summer. I saw it in the beginning of December, and there was a thin sheet of ice in particular places. But his account of the icebergs being driven by the wind in the spring is quite in accordance with that which I heard, and I have no doubt that the mountain-gusts must sometimes rush through the gully at the southern end of the lake, and sweep across its surface with terrific violence. It might have been the Gunga Bul on Hara-Muk to which Bernier alludes; but to judge from his very meagre description, it was most probably the Kosah Nag. The Kosah Nag is not held in the same estimation as the Gunga Bul. The real old Hindu name, and that of the mountains surrounding it, is Kysur; and it is also called by them Vishnu paudh (the foot of Vishnu), who is reported to have created the lake by stamping with his foot. As, however, it is pronounced Kauser Nag, it may be inferred that the Musulmans have, on account of its extent and height, given it the name of Kauser, or Kautser, one of the rivers of paradise, whose waters, whiter than milk or

silver, and more odoriferous than musk, roll into the fish-pool, a month's journey in circumference, and by which the righteous are refreshed after passing the bridge of Al Sirat.*

This noble mountain tarn is not, of course, without its legends. At the western end the trap-rock descends to the water in a succession of steps or benches. Tradition and superstition have made out that the highest seat was the throne of a Rajah, who used to preside in this part of the mountains. Beneath him sat the Vuzir, then the Surdars, or great men, on the rock below them. Hindus occasionally pay the lake a visit for the purposes of ablution. One, whose name I forget, was in the habit of going there annually to perform his ablutions. A young man of the party, so the story is told, swam to a rock at a short distance from the bank. His friends asked him why he remained there so long, as it was time to return. He replied, that he dare not leave the rock, as on whichever side he presented himself, he saw the deyu, or demon, of the lake, in the water, and ready to seize him. He was encouraged to make the attempt. He sprang from the rock; and the Hindus affirmed that they saw the deyu seize him ere he touched the water, and that he never rose again.

The pass over the edge, near the Kosah Nag, has long been known by the name of the Futi Panjal, or the Ridge of Victory. The name was not given on account of any recent event.

In descending from the Kosah Nag, I turned to the right through the forest, below the Astunu Murg,†

* *Vide* Taylor's "History of Mohammedanism," p. 146.

† Hill of the shrine.

the elevated plain on which the Patans first met the Sikhs, and encamped at Chirun Bul, near a shepherd's hut, on the bank of the Shurji-Murg* river, which descends through a succession of park-like scenery to its junction with the Kosah Nag river, above the cataract of Arabul,† or Huri Bul, and close to the village of Sedau, whence I had started. At this place the Veshau has worn for itself a deep and picturesque channel in the bare rock, and dashes into the plains of Kashmir in a style and with a grandeur befitting the head-waters of the "fabulosus Hydaspes," or its still more ancient, sacred, and modern appellation of Veshau, the river of Vishnu. In spring, the rush of water is tremendous; but the beauty of the place is not owing to its volume, or the height of its fall, which does not exceed twenty-five feet, but to its dark, deep, and precipitous sides, the thick pine forest that surrounds it, and the relief that is afforded by the snows of the Pir Panjal, that rise majestically behind it. It is a service of some difficulty to descend to the top of the fall, from the bank which overhangs it, where a false step would be followed by instantaneous submersion in the flood. Arabul is a place of peculiar sanctity with the Hindus, and, as such, is frequently visited by them, though, perhaps, less now than formerly, before the prosperity of the valley was on the wane; and the precipice overhanging its flood has been upon several occasions the last resting-place for the feet of the Hindu suicide.

Upon leaving Arabul, the waters pursue a south-

* Shurji-Murg, or the Hill of the Lord Shur, or Siva.

† Ara is the torrent, and Huri Bul would signify the place of Huri, or Vishnu.

easterly direction, washing for a mile or two the hills at the southern end of the valley; thence turning to the north-west, with a generally straight course; sometimes forming a deep hollow beneath a low cliff of alluvium; and in other places rattling over its shingly bed with a wide-spreading and fordable stream. Before, however, arriving at its junction with the Jylum, five miles below Bij Beara, it flows through the rich loam of the plains of Kashmir, and is there a dull and dirty, but unfordable, river, about sixty yards in width.

Still riding along the foot of the lower range, a constant succession of fine scenery presents itself, and the broken ground at the foot of the snowy Panjal is covered with a thick pine-forest, which descends with the slope, and mingles with the orchards that surround the villages,—which are so deeply embosomed beneath them as to be discernible only in the distance by the smoke or the clump of trees that rise above the rest. The village of Wutu is five miles from Sedau, and is to be remarked only as having given its name to a way to the Panjal, which commences from it, and joins the Sedau path, I do not exactly know where.

On the summit of a hillock on the right stands the Zearat, or Shrine of Baba Kaim-u-Din.* It is a wooden temple, built in the same fashion as that at Shupeyon. Its appearance in the midst of pine-forest is exceedingly picturesque. Farther on, approaching Kuri, I was shewn an old marble slab lying in the jungle, which is the tombstone of Hyder Malek, formerly Rajah of Divul, on the other side of the Panjab above Kuri. His name is engraved on it.

* The Firm of the faith.

We must now return to the shepherd's hut, in order to visit the wide-spreading platform of table-land, which at this part of the province is extended for a width of several miles, between the Panjal and the slopes that fall into the plains of Kashmir. I ascended the bed of the stream to the edge of the Shurji-Murg,* or the Hill of Siva, a very beautiful meadow, and once to all appearance the bed of a mountain lake, lying only a few hundred feet below the limit of forest. A ridge of rock, which I could not approach on account of the snow, is extended along its western edge, overhanging the stream that runs through the whole length, which appeared to be about a mile and a half.

The other eminences on these elevated and beautiful downs are known by the names of the Nandi Murg, or hill of Nandi, the bull of Siva; Gokal Murg, or the hill of Krishna, on the Panjal, above the Nandi Murg; and the Astanu Murg, or hill of the shrine already mentioned, on the right of the Veshau as it descends from the Kosah Nag. The verdant slopes of the Nandi Murg rise and rest against the ridge of the Panjal, and on the north it is bounded by an edging of rising ground, that prevents the great valley from being seen from it. The view from the eminence on the westward side is one of singular grandeur and beauty, the eye being carried along an elevated vista, formed between the Panjal and the hills that immediately bound the valley itself; and a beautiful succession of ridges and valleys, down-lands, and forest scenery, resembling that of one vast natural park, is

* Pronounced as Zojimurg.

continued up to the precipitous sides of the snowy mountains resting on the Tosi Mydan, for an extent of about six-and-thirty miles. The plains of Kashmir, including the Karywas, contain, at a rough calculation, about 650 square miles, and on the mountains around them there is an extent of at least 150 square miles of pasturage.

The Chaupán, Pal, or Pahal of Kashmir, is a shepherd who takes care of the flocks and herds of other people. The Gujuru is a cowherd whose cows and buffaloes are his own property, and who lives by the sale of their produce. The Gujuru are said to have come originally from Guzurat in the Panjab. The Gujuri, again, is a person who keeps cows in the city of Kashmir, and pays one rupi a-month for every cow. There are, perhaps, 100 Gujuris in the city; and the price of a good milch-cow is twenty small rupis, equal to about 1*l.* 7*s.* sterling.

The Gujuru live in log-houses in the wood, and in recesses at the foot of the Panjal; quitting them in the summer months, for the sake of the pasture upon the mountains. They pay about forty small rupis for a good milch buffalo, and live by making ghi and cheese from their milk. The vast extent of elevated down above Kuri affords a feeding ground for many thousands of sheep. The Chaupán receives his charge about the middle of May, and he then repairs to the Shurji-Murg, accompanied by his family and his dogs, who preserve the flocks from the attacks of bears and leopards, which, the former in particular, are very numerous. He usually has with him one or more small tents; and, besides these movable habitations, there are numerous wooden sheds erected here and

there, for his shelter and accommodation. He receives three *ser*, or about six pounds, of rice for the care of each sheep or goat during the season, and its milk also. But the Kashmirian shepherd is not more honest than the rest of his countrymen, and many a lamb is sold or eaten by him, and the loss referred to the depredations of wild beasts. The rot is cured by making the sheep eat the prangus leaf,* and the foot-rot is successfully washed by a decoction of peach-leaves.

An official, on the part of the Hákim,† or governor, of Kashmir, is always in attendance in the neighbourhood, in order to watch the increase of the flocks. He takes an *anna*, or one-sixteenth part of a rupi, for every goat, sheep, or lamb, once during the season. The Patans, I was informed, took but half of this amount.

The Gulubán or Guluwán (Gulu signifies a flock) takes care of horses, and has likewise the credit of stealing them, and receives eight turak of rice for the care of a horse during the grazing season,—when large herds of horses are to be seen upon the Shurji-Murg, and the adjoining downs, and the Guluwán and his family are leading the same kind of life as the Chaupán. The Guluwáns are the descendants of the old warlike tribe of the Chakk, who were the warriors of Kashmir, and who so bravely resisted the invasion of Akber. Abu Fuzl says that their old palace was at Taragám in Kamraj, where I have seen the massive ruins. Whatever they may have been, of late years they have been remarkable only for their predatory habits. They have rarely intermarried with any other

* *Vide* the author's "Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni," &c. p. 101.

† Hākĭm is a governor; Hăkĭm is a physician.

caste, and resided in the jungle, changing their place of abode whenever the chances of detection rendered it necessary to be on the move. In the time of the Patans it was dangerous to travel alone. The Chakk would leave a few of their number in charge of their harem, whilst the rest sallied forth on a marauding expedition. A person going from the city of Islamabad was in danger of being robbed on the skirts of the Wurstur Wun mountain above Wentipur; and Shahji-Murg, or the King's Hill, on the way from the city to Shupeyon, the vicinity of Shah Nur-u-Dyn, Haratrat, on the way to Baramula, and the jungle near the village of Nunur, at the débouchure of the Duras road and the Sinde river, were places particularly infested by the Guluban. The long defile leading from Duchin Para to Gund-i-Sir Singh was much used by them, when they wished to avoid observation, in passing from one end of the valley to the other. A long heavy club, with iron rings around it, was their principal weapon.

The Sikh Governor, Kupar Ram, put two or three of them to death; but their entire suppression was one of the few measures that Sher Singh, the present Maharajah of the Panjab, could claim any credit for during his tyrannical viceroyalty in Kashmir. The open and daring outrages of the Guluban were much complained of, and having one day received intelligence that a party of them had assembled near the plain of Damudur, only a few miles from the city, he sent thither a large force, killed some seven or eight of them on the spot, and afterwards hanged seventeen of them at one time from the Amir's bridge, nearly opposite the Governor's residence. The Governor,

Mihan Singh, also sent an officer and a party after them, who killed and hanged several, and so terrified the remainder that they have never made any head since. They are now afraid of owning the name of Guluban, and get a livelihood as labourers, or by tending horses, as I have already mentioned.

Bernier relates that a strict search was made after the members of the royal race of Kashmir in the time of Jehan Gir, and that a man who had married one of them fled to a district on the other side of the mountains, where, to his surprise, he found a harem in waiting for him, in consequence of his being connected with the blood-royal. They were men of great personal strength, and one of them, who was made prisoner and confined in the fort by order of Mihan Singh, contrived to make his escape, by dropping himself from the wall with his irons on; but being unable to release himself from them, he was again found, and made a resistance so desperate that they were obliged to put him to death.

The Dám* may be called a kindred tribe; they claim a descent from the Pandus, afterwards men-

* The Dám, I conclude, are the Dámaras of the Rajah Taringini. "The death of Lalataditya was worthy of his active reign. He resolved to explore the uttermost limits of Uttara Curu, the regions inhabited by the followers of Cuvera (the supporter of the world towards the north), and equally inaccessible to the steps of man and the rays of the sun. He accordingly marched northwards, crossing the mountains inhabited by the Dámaras, whom he describes in his letter to his ministers as a fierce, intractable race, lurking in caves and fortified places, possessed of considerable wealth, and equally devoid of government and religion. They were also the murderers of King Chacra Verma."—*Vide* Wilson's "History of Kashmir," "Asiatic Researches," vol. xv. pp. 51 and 71.

tioned, whom tradition has represented as being of giant strength and stature. There is a family of them in almost every village; they act as police, messengers, and watchmen, going the rounds at night amongst the rice-fields, of which, however, they notoriously appropriate a proportion for their own use.

I have already mentioned the road from Kuri to Rihursi, by which the latter place may be reached in six days with baggage, and that it was made by Gulab Singh. It passes over the Shurji-Murg, and is said to be the best road out of Kashmir, and that artillery could pass by it into the valley. I believe, however, that the assistance of the pioneers would be much wanted. The southern end of the Kosah Nag may be reached from Kuri.

I descended upon the last-named village through a vista in the pine-forest, commanding a splendid view of all the southern end of the valley. Kuri itself has once been a village of great beauty, surrounded by orchards and walnut-trees, but, like every village in Kashmir, is now in ruins. Its Wanduru (literally, monkeys), or Maleks, or chief men, claim a descent from the Deyu of the Kosah Nag, and affirm that their ancestor, Hyder Malek, the Rajah of Divul, whose tombstone I have noticed, was ejected from the lake, and found as a helpless infant upon the bank. The more probable story is that he was the offspring of an illicit amour of a shepherd and a *villageoise*, and was placed there to be taken notice of by the superstitious visitors of the lake.

In pursuing the general direction of the outline of the valley, we cross the debouchure of the Pergunah of Kol Narawa, a beautiful strath between

nine and ten miles in length, by about one and a half to two miles in breadth. In looking up it from the plains, the large village of Honjipur* stands conspicuously in front; before it are numerous rice-fields in plateaux, and behind it is an admirable disposition of peaks and wood-crowned heights, bounded on all sides by the snowy Panjal, from which rise the more noble and very conspicuous peaks of Kol Narawa, or Sondri Nar,† and Didyum.

The Pergunah contains five or six villages, and in the wooded recesses under the mountains are the log-houses of the principal Gujuru in Kashmir.

The Kol Narawa pass to Anarsi is at all times difficult for horses, and if the snow has fallen heavily, is impassable for footmen during the winter months. The water of the Buzu stream is particularly fine. It unites itself with the Karndi, which, flowing from the top of the Pergunah, effects a junction with the Veshau as it passes across the entrance.

Imperial Shahbad may be reached from the village of Kol, over the hills on the eastern side of the strath, or by re-entering the plain, and passing through to the village of Kuligám.‡

I have twice visited a Musalman fakir of peculiar sanctity, who lives in the neighbourhood, and who is said to have attained a very great age—I think 110. His name was Sudu Bayu. I should have guessed him to have been about 90; but there was little appearance of second childishness; on the contrary, he complained of nothing excepting that his teeth and

* The waterman's city.

† Sondri signifies beautiful.

‡ The village of the kulis, or baggage-carriers.

eyesight began to fail him a little. He had witnessed the decline and fall of his country. He told me that in his younger days he had visited Hindustan, had been at Calcutta, and that he still hoped to see the day when Kashmir would be in the possession of my countrymen,—with some other predictions, which were all implicitly believed by the bystanders. Although a Musalman, his name and reputation are much respected by the Sikhs, on account of his age; a man so old as he is being supposed to be under the peculiar protection of Providence. Mihan Singh, the Sikh Governor, made several attempts to gain an interview, and offered him large presents of money; but I was informed that he spurned the offer with contempt, and refused to have any thing to say to an infidel, and one whom he looked upon as the oppressor of his country.

Between Shupeyon and Kuligám is a small canal, cut from the Veshau for purposes of irrigation.

The latter place was once famous for its manufacture of wooden toys, and would appear from its name to have been a place of rendezvous for merchants and others about to proceed to the Panjab by the Kol Narawa pass. The mountains commence on the opposite side of the river, whose bed is here spread out and divided into several channels. Close to it is a heronry, upon two huge chunar-trees, and there is another in the village of Patun, on the east side of the valley. The herons are of the same species that are common in England.

Plumes have been made of herons' feathers in many countries, and here they are in great request, as no Sikh officer of any rank is ever seen without one in his turban; and in those of the Surdars, or great

men, the feathers, generally an uneven number, between ten and twenty, are fastened into a funnel-shaped stem, entirely covered with gold wire or thread, or sometimes richly ornamented with pearls, emeralds, and rubies.

The heronries of Kashmir are strictly guarded; no one is allowed to molest the birds, and in the spring, when their long feathers fall from their necks, there is a watchman always in attendance under the trees, to pick them up. As I wished for a specimen of the bird, I was preparing to shoot one, but desisted, of course, upon being told that they were the property of Prince Khuruk Singh, then heir-apparent of the Panjab, who was the owner of a jaghir, or estate, of the real or nominal value of a a lak of rupis, at this end of the valley.

The plume-makers are rarely in possession of the feathers whose ends have not been damaged; those which curl, being perfect, are picked out and sent to the Panjab; but plumes made from those whose ends have been worn off are easily procurable, and the plume is made up at the price of one small rupi for each feather. Plumes of inferior description are made from the feathers of the Indian water-hen,* which may be seen in the valley and in the north of India, running over the surface of the leaves of the lotus and other aquatic plants.

The village of Deosir lies very snugly at the foot of the hills, on the southern side of the Veshau, but miles of wild and wooded scenery intervene between it and the snowy Panjal. The Pergunah of the same

* Parra Sinensis.

name is one of the largest in Kashmir, containing nearly 200 villages, though most of them are ruined. In the time of Kupar Ram, the best of the Sikh Governors, it produced 100,000 kirwahs* of rice, and its revenue was now reckoned at but 25,000 kirwahs.

There were numerous varieties of rice in Kashmir; the two best are, the Basmuti, so well known in India, and one that is called, I think, the Lachibul. In the time of the Moguls it was said to produce not less than 60 laks (6,000,000) of kirwahs of rice, which was there grown wherever a system of irrigation was practicable; but such is the state to which this beautiful but unfortunate province is now reduced, and so many of the inhabitants have fled the country, that a vast proportion of the rice-ground is allowed to remain idle for want of labour and irrigation.

Rice is the staple grain of Kashmir, and the principal sustenance of its population, and, consequently, is a great article of revenue; and the wealth of an estate, or a jaghir, is calculated not by its value in money, but by the number of kirwahs of rice which it can produce.

The rice from this part of the valley is carried to the boats at a village on the Veshau, whence it is conveyed in them to the city. Some of these boats, or rather barges, are very large, carrying about 1000 kirwahs of grain, equal to 60 or 70 tons. They are partly covered with a reed thatch, and whole families have no other residence.

Rice-lands are regularly irrigated, and are consi-

* A Kashmirian kirwah is about 144 lbs. English.

dered the most valuable in Kashmir, excepting the saffron-grounds at Pampur.

Rice is sown in the spring. About the Nu-roz, the New Day, or vernal equinox, the ground is prepared for receiving the seed. It is ploughed three times, and when the ridges are dry they are broken by a large hand hammer, and then flooded for one day before the seed is sown; and the sowing may be continued from the fortieth day after the No-Roz, according to the season. If a great deal of rain has fallen, it may be deferred till the greater part of the forty days have passed away; but it is most advisable to sow them within that time, otherwise, experience has shewn that there is a great chance of the crops being totally destroyed by the cold blasts from the new snow, which commences to fall about the 1st of September, earlier or later. After the seed is thrown upon the water, the labourers tread it into the soil. The crop is ripe in ten or eleven weeks; the ground being constantly flooded till a few days before cutting. On the plain of Khampur, when the crop is ripe, the peasants sow mustard-seed amongst it, which continues in the ground all the winter.

Of the cultivated ground in Kashmir, the rice occupies three-fourths, wheat about one-eighth, and the other is filled up by barley, buckwheat, cockscomb, &c.

The construction of the plough of Kashmir is very simple, and its wooden ploughshare is kept tight by a movable wedge.

Rice-grounds are manured and improved by the distribution of clods of fresh earth. It sometimes happens, on account of the scarcity of labour, that all the land cannot be prepared within a necessary time.

The rice seed is, nevertheless, sown as usual, and when it is about a foot high it is transplanted into the prepared ground, every bundle of stalks being inserted singly by the hand. I have seen this troublesome labour performed at the northern end of the valley.*

The impost duty upon rice forms, as I have remarked, one of the principal articles of revenue. The Zemindari system, by which a headman, or farmer, was answerable for the produce of his own farm, without reference to the number of labourers employed upon it, was upset by the Sikhs. Under their rule the number of persons is the only consideration, and when the seed is distributed, the farmer receives the same quantity as the labourer, and each person is individually answerable for the expected return.

The Mukadam, or chief man of the village, is the only middle man between the ryots, or labourers, and the Governor, who makes, as was also the case in the time of the Patans, and probably also in that of the Moguls, two circuits in a year, around the whole valley. The first is in the spring, before the rice is sown, when the seed is piled in stacks of twenty, thirty, or forty kirwahs each. On his arrival at any village, a fresh list of the houses and the ryots is made out, and a certain quantity of rice seed is given to each ryot from the government stores, the produce of last year. Perhaps twenty kirwahs, ten for seed and ten for his own use, are given to a ryot, and he is told that a return of 100 kirwahs is expected from him when the crop is reaped. This

* The unhusked rice is called *shali* in Persian, and *danu* in Kashmirian. When prepared for boiling it is called *burinj*, and in Kashmirian it is called *tomul*.

arrangement, if the year be particularly abundant, is not always adhered to on the part of the Governor; and more than the 100 kirwahs stipulated for are demanded, and cannot be refused. We will suppose, however, that the Governor agrees to receive the 100; of this, fifty kirwahs are set apart for the Maharajah; twelve and a half more in satisfaction of his prerogative; out of the remaining thirty-seven and a half kirwahs, the ryot has to pay a certain quantity to the accountant of each Pergunah;—his accountant also takes a share, and so also does the hurkaru; or news-messenger: and the steward of each Pergunah, who superintends the proper employment of the land, and his servants also, if in any way employed for purposes connected with the revenue, put in their claims to a perquisite. So that, altogether, the unfortunate ryot does not receive more than about fourteen kirwahs out of the 100, for his own use, in return for his time and his labour. Besides this, the ryots are obliged to take back twenty-five of the Maharajah's share, at a price greater than that at which the rice is ordered to be sold in the city magazines. The price, I was informed, is regulated by the Maharajah at one rupi a kirwah; but the ryot is first obliged to take back the twenty-five kirwahs at one and a half rupi. The price, moreover, at which the Maharajah, upon representations made to him, had ordered the rice to be sold in the city, is sometimes exceeded by the demands of the Governor, who puts the difference into his own coffers. It is useless to remark on the hopelessness of improvement under such a system.

The sugar-cane will not thrive in Kashmir: its climate is not warm enough. The cotton is sown in

the spring, and chiefly upon the karywas, as it does not require so much irrigation. It was formerly produced in considerable abundance, was of good quality, and sold for 6 lb. a rupi. Turnips are sown about the 1st of August, and are the only vegetable of which two crops are produced annually. Wheat, barley, and linseed, are sown in November; but Indian corn and seeds, such as mullet, rape, buckwheat, or cocks-comb, and many other in common use, are sown in the spring. But all are occasionally watered by the hand, where irrigation is defective.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER X.

Fine View of the Valley—Ruined Villages—Kashmirian Villagers—The Kangri—Pundits—Policy of Runjit Singh—His Ravages in the Valley—The Singh Costume—Bees—Singular Mode of their Management—Chaugám—The Valley of Khund—Enormous Serpent—Singular Spring—The Vine—Muskhabad—Use of Wine in Kashmir—Picturesque Valley—Poison Tree—Splendid View of the Valley—One-eyed Fish—Shahbad—Apple Orchards—Copper and Iron Mines—A Kashmirian Falstaff—Singular Character—Comforts of Tea in the East—Bread and Grapes—Genii of Kashmir—Singular Effect of a Dose of Calomel—Celebrated Fountain—Ruined Palace—Himalaya Front—Persian Inscription—Fuller's Earth—Singular Cave—Source of the Jylum—Banihal Pass—The Shahbad Valley—Singular Rocks—Traditional Bridge—The Cyclops of the East—Geology of the Valley of Shahbad—Lead and Iron Mines—Copper and Silver—Jehan Gir—Working the Mines—Hindu Buildings—Ebbing and Flowing Spring—Holy Waters—The Bethesda of the Valley—Subterranean Channels—Turnksum—Its Bridge—Scene of many Battles—Shah Sujah—His Invasion of the Valley—Fright and Retreat of Azim Khan.

CHAPTER X.

I NOW return to the Pergunah of Kol Naruwa, and ascend the ridge behind the village of Kol, where there is a peak which commands, perhaps, as fine a prospect of the valley as is to be seen from any part of its southern end. The relative situations of the most prominent places seen from the hill at Shupeyon are, of course, much altered; and the valley appears to be one vast flat, in which colours, and the more distant objects, are much blended together, on account of the elevation from which it is viewed. The obvious reason why a mountain gradually appears to become higher to a person ascending a hill opposite to it is, that it is up to a point equidistant from the base and the summit, gradually subtending a larger angle to the eye than it did when he was at its foot; and this observation is finely exemplified by the aspect of the mountains of Kashmir, when viewed from any eminence on the opposite side of the valley. Distant alps and snowy ridges, elevated plains, rugged precipices, descending streams and waterfalls, and masses of hanging forest, which were previously hidden from the eye of an observer in the valley below, are now brought into the landscape, and gradually, as it were, deploy into the extending surface of the vast and apparently mural sides which surround its unrivalled amphitheatre.

The space between the Pergunahs of Kol Naruwa and Shahbad, which I was now entering, and which occupies about eleven miles of the country lying at the foot of the Panjal, is bounded by an elevated ridge on its northern, eastern, and western fronts. The interior is very beautiful, and is divided into three small valleys, into the larger of which I now descended from the peak; and, passing through the cultivated land around its villages, I followed the bank of a small stream that meanders through some delicious-looking shooting ground, and arrived at the village already mentioned, and lying in a gorge that opens upon the plains.

Thence I proceeded to Chaugám, through the Pergunah of the same name, and remarked the numerous but ruined villages that were scattered over the surface of this once thickly peopled district. Many of the houses were tenantless and deserted; the fruit was dropping unheeded from the trees; the orchards were overgrown with a profusion of wild hemp and wild indigo; and the graveyards were still covered with blue and white iris-flowers, which are always purposely planted over them, partly for the sake of ornament, and partly because the roots, by being matted together, prevent the turf from falling in. There is yet enough to shew that the villages were once the very *ne plus ultra* of snugness and rusticity. A clear and rattling stream is almost invariably at hand; the greensward on its banks is shaded by fine walnut-trees; the bryn-tree, closely resembling the English elm, often rears itself above them; and the still more gigantic chunar is generally present, to overshadow half the village with its boldly twisted branches, which

are alive with the chirupping of the myna* and the singing of the bulbul. The chebutra, or raised bench of wood or stone, is usually placed at its foot; and on and around this the village gossips are for ever to be seen; some sleeping, others praying, others smoking their chillums, or kaliúns; and almost invariably, if the weather be cold or rainy, carrying a kangri beneath their garments. The kangri is a basket with a handle, containing a red vessel of earthenware about the size of a 42 lb. shot, into which is put a small quantity of lighted charcoal; and the peasants of both sexes warm themselves (and, when sleeping, are occasionally dreadfully burnt) by holding it usually in front, or next to any part of the person that requires it. A stranger is at first astonished at the universal similarity of figure which he observes. The value which a Kashmirian sets upon his kangri may be known by the following distich:—

Ai kangri! ai kangri!
Kúrban tu Hour wu Peri!
Chun dur bughul mi girimut
Durd az dil mi buree.

"Oh, kangri! oh, kangri!
You are the gift of Houris and Fairies;
When I take you under my arm
You drive fear from my heart."

The Pundits are loitering around, and justly complaining of the oppression of the Sikhs, who are his brethren in religion; discussing the news from the Panjab, the ripening rice-crop, and the chances of a dearth or plenty; whilst the turbaned "rish sufyd," or "grey-bearded" Musalman, remarks with sorrow on the present condition of his beautiful country, and

* Pastor Mahrattensis.

compares it with what he has read of the dominion of the Zagatai,* or remembers of the time of the Patans.

Runjit assuredly well knew that the greater the prosperity of Kashmir, the stronger would be the inducement to invasion by the East India Company. "Après moi le déluge," has been his motto; and most assuredly its ruin has been accelerated, not less by his rapacity than by his political jealousy, which suggested to him, at any cost, the merciless removal of its wealth, and the reckless havoc which he has made in its resources.

The lordly Sikh, the gaudiness of whose red and yellow dress is well contrasted with the sombre uniformity of the outer costume of the Kashmirians,—which latter consists merely of a loose, long-sleeved cloak,—is usually to be seen lounging about in the very plenitude of consequence. The skin on his dark, fierce, and finely chiselled features has been polished up, and rendered almost transparent, by the use of almond-oil; his long black hair, lately cleaned with milk, is flocking out from under the snakelike folds of his small, but neatly-twisted turban; he is proud of the new pistol in his kumurbund, or girdle, his heron's plume, his large golden earrings, and bangles of pure gold on his wrists; and he significantly twists up his long black and silky mustachios, when conscious of attracting the attention of the women who have come to fetch water from the stream: and as is often the case, if he be the commandant of the neighbouring guard-house, and the

* Or Cheguthai, the Mogul Emperors; so called from Zagatai Khan, a son of Jenghiz Khan, who founded the Zagatai branch in Transoxiana.

officer in charge of the revenue, he will be always surrounded by a coterie of idle Kashmirians, and may be seen listening with the utmost complacency to lying representations and petitions for exemption, which it is quite out of his power to grant, from those who hate as cordially as they flatter him, and whom he as cordially despises in return.

Most of the farmers are supplied with honey made in the walls of their own houses. The swarms are first hived, if I may so call it, in large earthenware bottles, projecting from the surface: the interior of these are rubbed with honey; and within them are also placed some leaves of the mountain rhododendron,* called Gun Puta, or the gin's leaf, the buff-coloured under side of which the bees are said to be very fond of. But as a full account of the method of treatment is to be found in Mr. Moorcroft's letters, I deem it unnecessary to say more on the subject. The villages in the straths out of Kashmir are subject to the visitations of bears, who sometimes come down, six or seven together, and rob the orchards and eat the honeycombs.

Chaugám is a large village, containing some good houses, but is, as usual, in a most ruinous state. The elevated land on the east of it is the Karywah of Byhama, on the summit of which is a canal formed for the purpose of irrigation, and by which the waters of the Panjut spring are conveyed to a junction with the Sunduren, as the head stream of the Jylum is termed, near a village about seven miles distant. On the way to Shahbad, I arrived at the spring of Panjut. It is very deep, and has rocks and weeds visible at

* Rhod. campanulatum.

the bottom; and there is a tradition of a boatman, an experienced swimmer, having dived into it, and never having risen again. Close to it is another spring; and near it, in the open plain, is an accidental mass of shingly conglomerate, already mentioned, five or six feet thick, and which appears to have been rolled there by some extraordinary force, rather than to be the remnant of a larger bed deposited on the spot, as I know of no formation of the kind within a considerable distance of it.

But I must again enter the hills under the Panjal, in order to visit the valley of Khúnd, which lies between Chaugám and the peak of Sondri Nar. The entrance to it commences at a short distance from the last-mentioned village, and the path winds for a time amongst banks and glades, which are covered with wild apricot-trees, whose blossom, in the early spring, yields a perfume so fragrant and powerful, that the Kashmirians come from far and near to inhale it. I was told that the place was infested by a serpent, so long that his tail was perceived at the bottom of a hill when his head might be moving on the top of it. I have no doubt that a very large serpent had occasionally been seen there, and that the story was not without some foundation.

At the village of Ruzlu, there is a spring whose waters rise when the snows are melting; and the communication from beneath is so rapid as to disturb the mud and sediment at the bottom of the pond, which is twelve or fourteen yards across. Logs of wood that were lying quietly fastened down by the mud below are now forced upwards to the surface, and, being brought into contact by the eddies and whirlpools in

which they are floating, are sometimes driven against each other, and so furiously, that the spectacle has given rise to the idea in the minds of the natives that the logs are animated, and moving under the influence of the devis and spirits of the place.

From Ruzlu I ascended the hill on the right, in order to obtain a view of another valley, named Brunil-Lanur. It occupies the remainder of the space between Kol Naruwa and Chaugám, and contains the two villages from which it takes its name. In the jungle under the Panjal, which bounds it on the south, and, I believe, in many of the wooded eminences around it, the vine is to be seen hanging in festoons about the trees,—originally, perhaps, a wild plant, but afterwards nurtured and cultivated by the natives of the district, who formerly made wine there in great quantities.

At Muskhahád, a place in the jungle lying equidistant from Deosir and the villages in the valley, a great number of very large forty-thief-power earthen jars have been dug up at different times, and are now used by the natives as receptacles for their grain; and it is supposed that many more are buried there, they being discoverable only by a search beneath the surface of the ground; and it is supposed that wine was buried preserved in them, as in Gilghit and the neighbouring countries, probably at the present day. It is singular that the word *mus* should have the same meaning as the English *must* (*mustum*) new wine: and *khahad* signifies a place where wine is made and deposited.

I could never learn satisfactorily why the spot was deserted as it is at present; but it is more than

probable that it fell into disuse after the Musalman invasion, and suffered under the enthusiastic bigotry of Sikundur But-Shikan.* Abu Fuzl, however, relates that wine was drank in Kashmir in his time. But I heard that its locality had been remembered only in tradition, or at least that the existence of the large wine-vessels was unknown until they were discovered by accident in the time of the Patans, about fifty years ago; and the finder was suspected of having concealed a treasure. Wine, however, was made there in the time of the Patans, and Mihan Singh, the present governor of Kashmir, had ordered all the grapes to be brought thence to the city, where he contrived to manufacture a wretched apology for the generous liquor.

The valley of Khúnd is exceedingly picturesque and secluded; its extent is not more than two or three miles in any direction, but it contains three or four villages, and is well cultivated. It is separated from the plains of Kashmir by a wooded ridge of hills, and the craggy peak and precipices of Kol Naruwa rise directly behind the village at its foot; and in the forest that intervenes between it and the foot of the mountain, is a fountain whose basin is filled up only when the snows are melting. The village is so protected from the sun that its climate is said to be the coolest in Kashmir, and in the hot weather was much resorted to on that account. Its elevation must be about 6000 feet, or a little more. The chob-i-pau tree, which I have already described as growing in

* Alexander, the idol-breaker, sixth Musalman king of Kashmir, notorious for his persecution of the Hindus, A.D. 1396.

Muru-Wurdwun and Budrawar, is very plentiful at this part of the valley; but I do not remember to have seen it on the northern end; though I do not mean to affirm that it does not exist there. It is used in Kashmir where pegs are required, or any hard wood is wanted for in-door work. I saw also specimens of a poisonous wood called arkola, which, when green, blisters the hand that holds it. The tree droops its branches like a weeping ash.

The Pergunahs of Bureng and Shahbad are divided by a long ridge of green hills, of several miles in length, that are connected with the Panjal, and gradually diminish in height and size till they terminate on the plain; and at the extremity is the village of Luk-i-Bowun,* now containing some half-a-dozen houses, but formerly a place of consequence, as it contains a large stone-built tank, and the ruins of a very large humám, or bath.

In the way from Chaugám to Shahbad, the Musjid of Haji† Dyd Sahib is seen on the left, very conspicuously placed on the summit of the highest point of the range. A splendid view of this end of the valley is to be seen from it; and I think I can promise the sporting traveller a shot at an eagle or a falcon, or, perhaps, a red leg, as a further recompense for the trouble of ascending. Between it and Luk-i-Bowun is a spring called Gunag.‡ The natives affirm that many of the fish in it have, for some reason or other, but one eye. Both the eyes of three that I saw caught were perfect: they were the common Himalaya trout.

* The Spring of the People. † David.

‡ From gau, a cow, or gunga; and nag, signifying a spring.

Shahbad, the abode of the king, which was the largest place at the southern end of the valley, is now a ruin; and the palace of the Moguls is scarcely worth a remark. Its environs are overgrown with nettles and wild hemp. It lies snugly under the southern side of the range I have just mentioned, whose highest peaks rise to a height of about 1200 feet above it. They are composed of a compact bluish-grey mountain limestone, which has apparently been deposited in regular strata, each of two or three feet in thickness, and being in some places bare of the long grass which usually covers them, they are to be seen lying contorted and twisted in every direction, by the force that originally upraised them.

The orchards of Shahbad still produce the best apples, at the southern end of the valley; and the wheat that is grown there is considered to be the finest in Kashmir. It is singular that wheaten flour of the valley should be thought very tasteless and insipid when compared with that of the plain, and that bread made from it should be considered to be heating. A Patan freshly arrived from Kabul is, I was informed, generally unwell after having been a month in the valley. Bread made from buckwheat is considered to be very wholesome.

There are several places in Kashmir famed for the excellence of some individual production. Thus we have the wheat of Shahbad, the turnips of Huripur, the rice of Nipur, the ghi of Pampur, the bang (hemp) of Kakapur, the mutton of Nandipur, the dal, or edible vetch of Khampur, the tobacco of Jehamu, the silk of Kotihar, as the best that are to be found in the valley. I was credibly informed that veins of

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIE
BRANCH
OF THE

[illegible]

A Kashmerian Mahometan and ex Malakoff Shahbad

London Pub. by Henry Thorn, [illegible] 1842

iron and copper exist in the neighbourhood of Shahbad, which were worked in the time of the Patans, but are now disused, on account of the ignorant rapacity of the Sikhs; and such is the fear of being compelled to work them, that the inhabitants will not even point them out to any one.

Shahbad was originally the residence of the most powerful of Akber's Maleks, whose authority extended over the whole of the surrounding country. The family, in common with the old Rajahs of Kishtawar and Jamu, claimed a descent from Nurshivan of Persia. Assuredly I cannot forget the sayings and doings of Samud Shah, of facetious memory, the last of these Maleks, who was one of the best specimens of the real old Kashmirian, who is the Neapolitan of the East, that I knew. In figure he was short, well made, but nearly as broad as he was long, in consequence of his being very fat. His features were large, aquiline, regular, and very handsome; his complexion fair; his eyes dark hazel; and his countenance altogether, which was ornamented with a white beard, for he had numbered, I believe, more than sixty winters, might have been pronounced noble, had there not been a something about it that was irresistibly comical. He would have made an admirable Falstaff, whom he would no doubt have resembled in many other particulars, excepting in the use of wine, which, as a Musalman, he was of course forbidden. He was present with Jubar Khan in the action by the result of which the Patans lost Kashmir, and it was there, I believe, that he was astonished by a shot that knocked his turban off his head; and afterwards, when the discomfited Patans commenced plundering

the tents of their own general, he admitted his having joined in the attack, and made off with some trifling booty to Shahbad, where he remained quietly until he was plundered in return.

Afterwards he joined the fortunes of Khoja Mohamed Shah Sahib, already mentioned, one of the principal Musalmans in Kashmir, from whom all European travellers had received many kind attentions. The Shah Sahib, being a descendant of the famous Saint of Bokhara (*Vide* Burnes's Travels, vol. i. p. 318), was not without respect even from the Sikhs themselves; and Samud Shah and many other retainers looked up to him in the light of a master and adviser.

Samud Shah was sent to attend upon me by the Shah Sahib, from the first day of my coming to Kashmir; partly from interested motives, as a *quid pro quo* was expected; partly from respect to the name of an Englishman, and partly, no doubt, in the capacity of a spy. If not otherwise engaged, he was usually in attendance upon me, and I soon found that there was no getting on without him. His anecdotes, recollections, and local information, contributed to render him an invaluable companion in his own country; and he in return was too happy to accompany an English traveller, because, for the time being, he was defended from the insolent bullying of the Sikhs. He was usually mounted upon a long-backed, long-maned, and long-tailed white Yabu, or Yarkundi, galloway, that safely carried this ponderous burden up and down numerous places where I would sometimes dismount and trust only to my own feet. He always had with him a little tea and sugar and a small metal teapot,

in a leathern bag, which was fastened to his saddle; and in the middle of the day I usually stopped to give it some employment. A few sticks were collected by a servant in attendance, and a little goat's milk was procured from the neighbouring cottage; and by these means a most refreshing cup of tea was soon prepared, the milk being boiled together with it. A man must travel in the East to enjoy the reviving effects of tea.

One day, when I was eating bread and grapes which had been sent me, Samud Shah said that there was a Persian proverb in praise of such food:

> Khodawundi-ke-hust, az khordan i dúr,
> Agar khorde; bukhorde nún angúr!
>
> God, who is, is far from eating;
> But if he did eat, he would eat bread and grapes.

The origin of this might be traced to a high source.

Dr. Falconer, superintendent of the Company's garden at Saharunpore, whose society I enjoyed for a time, both in Kashmir and Little Tibet, had given Samud Shah some sulphate of copper, to be used in the cure of bad eyes. This he carried with him, and administered under the name of Safyd Kafur (literally, white camphor), which bore a resemblance to the English name.

With a countenance that, with all its comicality, would have been considered remarkably sensible, and a hearty manliness of demeanour that would cause one to suppose him free from the superstitious ideas of his countrymen, I have been often astonished at the firmness with which he believed in the whole host of

preternaturals that haunt the mountain-forests of his native land.

The Jins (geni) are of both sexes and all religions: they are very mischievous, and in the exercise of evil would seem to be almost omnipotent and omnipresent. The Deyu are cannibal giants; and the Ifrites (elves), who were in attendance once upon Solomon, seem to have been of this nature. The Yech is nearly the Satyr of heathen mythology. The Dyut is the inhabitant of houses; and to him are attributed all noises, losses, and domestic troubles. They are propitiated with food once a-year; and would appear to resemble the brownie of the Scottish Highlands.

The Bram-bram-chuk is said to be seen in wet and marshy places, at night. From its description, as a rapidly moving light, it may be pronounced to be a will-o'-the-wisp; but if an account of its personal appearance be insisted upon, and the informant finds it necessary to say that he had seen its shape, it was described as an animal covered with hair, with eyes on the top of its head, and a "bisear bud shukl" (very ugly look) altogether. Its size is said to be about that of a badger; and I am inclined to think that it is the animal known as the grave-digger in India. I laughed at old Samud Shah about them, and he became so annoyed as to dare me to sleep out at night in particular parts of the plain, for fear of the Bram-bram-chuk.

The Whop, he said, resembled a cat or dog, and resided in old buildings. The Mushran appears in the shape of a dirty-looking and very old man, who seizes a person with a parental hug, and produces

thenceforth a wasting and dangerous decline. The Ghor, or Yech, is a feeder upon dead bodies.

The Degins are the females of the Degus. It is said that they often seek husbands amongst mortals, but that their attachment is productive of fatal consequences, as its object dies in the course of two or three months. The Dyn, who is the witch of Europe, will sometimes carry her malignant disposition so far as to eat a man's heart out.

The Rantus is the Aal of Afghanistan, perhaps the same as the Tral, or fairy, of Scandinavia, and the Goul of the Persian and Turkish tales. Her feet are reversed, and her eyes placed perpendicularly and parallel to the nose.

The Rih is a nondescript female, said to be very handsome; but will entice a man into a snare for the purpose of eating him.

The Peri is a being beautiful enough to compensate for all these horrors. Their bodies are made up of the four elements; but fire is the predominant ingredient without consuming the rest. It is said that they

> "When they please
> Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
> And uncompounded is their essence pure;
> Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
> Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
> Like cumbrous flesh; but, in what shape they choose,
> Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
> Can execute their aery purposes,
> And works of love or enmity fulfil."
>
> *Par. Lost*, Book I. 430.

But their amours with a mortal are followed by death from fire.

The attachment of the females is as fatal as that of the other sex; but they are said to play all kinds of pranks. Their ladies, like Titania, will occasionally become fond of "a lovely boy stolen from an Indian king." And the young Kashmirian girls modestly accuse the fairies of both sexes of stealing the *surmu* (antimony) from their eyelids whilst they sleep; the one from love, and the other from jealousy of their beauty. The old building of Kutlina, on the green slope that overhangs the city lake, is considered as one of their principal quarters, and is also on that account denominated the Peri Mahal, or the palace of the fairies.

There is another kind of hobgoblin (whose name has been accidentally erased from my note-book) to whose agency all the unaccountable noises and hootings in old buildings are ascribed.

But of all these, the Gins (geni) are the most universally feared, and Samud Shah assured me that there were many places where a man could not venture after nightfall, for fear of them. There is an old musjid standing alone on a desolate spot, between Shupeyon and Safur Nagur, near, I think, the village of Arihel, where the gins, as he affirmed, were as thick as sheep in a fold. He once, when travelling, repaired thither for the purpose of saying his prayers; he heard his own name pronounced, and a gin suddenly appeared in the shape of a jackal, and nearly knocked him down by running against him. He was terribly frightened, and having made his escape, narrated his tale to the first peasant he met, who expressed his astonishment at his having ventured into a place which every one knew to be so dangerous.

But Samud Shah's credulity did not rest with the pranks of this species of the preternatural. When crossing the passes from Shahbad to the Pergunah of Bureng, we arrived at a lonely spot in the jungle, where he nearly cured me of an illness by what he told me, "in hoc loco vim mulieri ab urso allatam fuisse: seipsum illam vidisse, et rem ordine ex illâ sæpius audivisse, mihi graviter confirmavit."

One day, when I was giving away some medicine, Samud Shah, who was standing by, and looking the the very picture of health, asked me to give him a little calomel. It was in vain that I told him he did not require it; he was determined to have some, and would take no denial, so I gave him a little on the point of a penknife, put it into a raisin, which he swallowed, and I thought no more of it. The next year, directly I saw him for the first time, he astonished me not a little by accosting me in a fit of most uproarious mirth, and thanking me for having been the means of his becoming a father. I inquired his reasons, and he reminded me that I had last year given him a little white medicine on the point of a knife. He had been long childless, but shortly before that time had married a young wife, and he said that the medicine had had a most extraordinary effect upon him, and swore, by my head, his own eyes, and the beard of the Shah Sahib, his master, that the fact was as he represented it, and true beyond the possibility of a doubt. He added, that the wonderful results of what I had given him had been the conversation of every one in the country, and that the Governor of Kashmir had sent an account of it to the Maharajah

Runjit Singh, who had been, of course, highly amused with the story.

Afterwards, just before I was turning my steps homeward, he brought his little son, Rahim Shah, to pay his respects to me, and upon being asked by his father what he had to say for himself (for he had just began to talk), he lisped out a word or two, which his father said was the lesson that his mother had taught him, "He had been created from the dust of the earth, by the command of Providence, and the power of the Sahib's medicine!"

The height of Shahbad by thermometer is about 5600 feet. The temperature, at half-past seven in the morning, on the 26th of July, 1835, was 73° Fahr.

The celebrated fountain of Vernag is not more than two or three miles from Shahbad, on the opposite side of the strath. The meaning of the name is the fountain of the Pergunah of Wer, which is the old name of Shahbad;* the latter being a name given after its palace was built by Nur Jehan Begum. The palace is now a ruin, with scarcely any of the beauties of a ruin, and the country is overgrown with weeds and jungle. But neither time nor tyranny can have any change in the very magnificent spring of Vernag. Its waters are received into a basin partly formed by the Emperor Jehan Gir. The circumference of the path round its margin is 128 paces, of about a yard each, and the whole is surrounded by a low octagonal wall, in which are twenty-four niches, each of eight feet in height. The water is beautifully clear, swarming with

* The abode of the king.

Himalaya trout, and having the appearance of great depth. I sounded it by means of a string fastened to the centre of another held across it, and found a bottom at about twenty-five feet. A stream as large as a small English trout-stream flows from the basin under the archway, and joins the Sar-i-bul river below Shahbad.

The water of Vernag is not very good for drinking. On the 27th of July, its temperature on the surface was 49½° Fahr. at noon.

In the interior on the wall is the following inscriptions:—

"Az Jehan Gir Shah Akbur Shah
Een bi nusir Kusheed bar afluk.
Buneh ukl: Yaft tarik ish
Kusr abad wa chushm ahi Vernag." *

"This place of unequalled beauty was raised to the skies by Jehan Gir Shah Akbur Shah: consider well." Its date is found in the sentence, "Palace of the fountain of Vernag."

In the Persian, as in the Greek, the letters are used for the expression of numbers, and the mode of recording a date, by folding it up in a sentence, is denominated *abjut*, from the first letters of the Persian system of enumeration. The Persian letters forming the sentence in the last line are equivalent to the number 1029, which was thus the year of the Hegira in which the building was made: 1029 of the Hegira answers to A.D. 1619; therefore, the palace at Vernag is 222 years old in the present year (1841).

* The calculation is appropriated as follows:—

k	*s*	*r*	*a*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*w*	*ch*	*sh*
100	90	200	1	2	1	4	6	3	300

m	*h*	*v*	*r*	*n*	*a*	*g*	
40	5	6	200	50	1	20	= 1029 A.H.

Over the entrance is also written,

"Az chusma i behisht amduh ust Jaui!"

"This fountain has come from the springs of Paradise!"

This also, I believe, is meant for the expression of some date. Similar sentences to commemorate the date of an event, such as a birth, a death, a victory, &c. are often made out in the same manner.

The aspect of the country is much changed since 1833, when Mr. Forster visited Vernag in the month of April; he says, that "the road from it leads through a country exhibiting that store of luxuriant imagery which is produced by a happy disposition of hill, dale, wood, and water; and that these rare excellencies of nature might be displayed in their full glory, it was the season of spring, when the trees, the apple, pear, the apricot, the cherry, and mulberry, bore a variegated load of blossom. The clusters, also, of the red and white rose, with an infinite class of flowering shrubs, presented a view so gaily decked, that no extraordinary warmth of imagination was required to fancy that I stood at least on a province of fairy-land."

Near Vernag is found the Sung-i-Dalum, or Fuller's-earth.

In the strath, immediately opposite to Shahbad, is a cave which I went to see. It is formed by the accidental falling together of limestone strata like the timbers of a gable-end; but the entrance, which is only a few feet in height, was completely choked up by rubbish and fallen pieces of rock. I did not wait to have it removed. It was subsequently cleared and

entered by Dr. Falconer, who, by stooping and crawling, persevered in ascending it to the end, which he found at no great distance from the mouth.

At the foot of the spur from the Banihal Panjal, which separates the strath up which I ascended to the cave, from that in which Vernag is situated, is another large spring, which is said by the natives to be the real source of the Jylum; the Veshau, Lidur, and others, being considered as separate streams. It is called the Veyut Wulur or Wutur—the lake or pond of the Veyut or Jylum; and the stream that runs from it is the river Sanduren, which joins the Veshau at Arkaren. My impression is, that the flow of water at first is not so large as that of Vernag; but it soon becomes a more considerable stream, by the early accessions from tributary springs. Both Veyut Wulur and Vernag are said to have been produced by a blow from Siva's trident.

The Banihal pass commences from Vernag, and its summit is about 3000 feet above Shahbad. The formation is the amygdaloidal trap. The ascent on this, the northern side, is, as Mr. Forster, who crossed it in 1783, says, about a mile and a half shorter than the descent on the southern side. On the summit is an open space, whence a glorious view of the plains of Kashmir bursts suddenly upon those who are entering the valley by this route. I did not find any particular difficulty in crossing the pass on foot; but on account of the general difficulties of the path from Banihal to Rihursi, there was no instance on record, from the time of the Moguls downwards, of horses having ever been conducted to the plains of the Panjab by the Banihal pass. But, having taken the advice of Samud

Shah and others, I determined to make the attempt, and my Tibetian ponies reached the plains in safety by this route; the larger horses having been previously sent forward either by the Pir Panjal or Baramula.

I ascended the Shahbad valley or strath for twelve miles farther, slept at a village, and thence walked to the Sar-i-Bul,* and returned to the same place in the evening. The Sar-i-Bul is a round pond about ninety yards across, surrounded by fir-trees, and lying on the steep mountain-side, on the left hand as I ascended the strath. Its height by thermometer must be about 8000 feet. The stream that flows from it is immediately joined by another from the snow, and afterwards by that from Vernag below Shahbad. It then receives the rivulet from Gunag; and, after forming a junction with the Burengi river, the united waters enter the larger stream, properly the Jylum, at Kanbul, near Islamabad.

A mile or two above Shahbad are seen natural ledges of rock facing one another on the opposite mountain banks, which certainly bear some resemblance to the remains of a bridge. Tradition coolly asserts, that the Pandus, the Cyclops of the East, made a bridge across the strath, by throwing a gigantic arch from one side to the other, and that either end rested upon one of these ledges.

The formation immediately above Shahbad is, as I have already noticed, of limestone not containing organic remains; but on the summit of the ridge which divides the straths of Shahbad and Bureng, and which I ascended when I visited the Sar-i-Bul, I found a tran-

* Place of the lake or pond.

sition limestone and a little sand, like sea-sand, lodged in a small cavity in the specimen that I carried away with me. I found the rhododendron (*campanulatum*) growing on the ridge.

From Shahbad there is a way over the hills to Sof-Ahun, where the principal, or, in fact, the only iron works of the valley are to be seen. Veins of lead, copper, and, as I was informed, also of silver, and even of gold, are known to exist in the long grass-covered hills in the neighbourhood; but the iron alone is worked. The lead is found in very small quantities, in an oxyde, which I have twice or thrice seen put into the furnace, and no lead produced; as the poor workman will on no account make an exhibition of their practical knowledge, for fear of being forced to labour without adequate remuneration. I was told that neither threats nor bribery would make the miners disclose the position of the copper or silver veins. Copper, I was told, is found in five or six places, and silver with it; but the veins have not been worked since the time of Abdulah Khan, a Governor of Kashmir, who made himself independent of his master, Timur Shah, of Kabul. The rock in which the ore is found appeared to be of limestone.

The Emperor Jehan Gir granted these mines to a private individual; but in the time of the Patans,* they had devolved upon the Amir. The excavations are comparatively very small, and to judge from what I saw, are merely separate galleries, some of which are worked a few yards more or less into the side of the mountain, and none more than about fifty yards in extent from the surface.

* Patan and Afghan are synonymous.

The whole process in use at Sof-Ahun is very aboriginal. The furnace is not much larger than a large chimney-pot, and when full it contains but two or three kirwahs of ore;* but I should think this over-rated. From this quantity is produced four and a half turak of iron:† of this, the Governor of Kashmir takes twenty-four pounds, the inspector, or steward of the mining district, claims a perquisite; and the forge-master is allowed to retain about eighteen pounds for his share; but no iron is allowed to be sold at a wholesale price. Fifteen pounds of iron are worth a small rupi (1*s.* 4*d.*). In the time of the Patans there were, perhaps, 400 or 500 miners; but now there is not above half that number employed. The forges produce about thirty kirwahs (5760 lbs.) in a month, about two-thirds of which are worked up in Kashmir, principally by the armourers, who manufacture 300 or 400 muskets in a year; and the remainder is sent to Kus and Kishtawar, where it is sold for three pounds the rupi. The iron of Kashmir is not considered good. The Little Tibetians told me that the Kashmirian iron was by no means comparable to the iron they used to procure from Ladak before the Sikhs took the country, and which had been brought thither from China *viâ* Cḥangthung. The iron of Kashmir is usually prepared in bars, about a foot in length, and a turak‡ in weight. It is also sold as *sung-i-ahun*, or ironstone, in lumps that have been once only melted, and of this six pounds may be purchased for a rupi.

In an open space on the mountains opposite to Sof-Ahun are two old Hindu buildings. the one a

* About 384 lbs. English. † 54 lbs. English.

‡ A turak, six ser, = 12 lbs. English.

tank, the other a square temple; but I did not think either of them worth visiting, after having seen the majestic ruins of Mar-Tund, afterwards noticed.

Koker Nag,* about two miles and a half from Sof-Ahun, is a beautiful spring, gushing out most copiously in six or seven places, from the foot of the limestone rock, and forming a stream equal to that of Vernag in volume, and far superior in the quality of its water, which is considered as among the finest in Kashmir. Hindus, on account of their religious veneration for the element so emphatically termed Behishta, or "the blessed,"—and Musalmans, from their being forbidden to drink wine,—are professedly judges of water, and talk of the respective merits of such and such a spring with all the gusto of connoisseurs. The Patan Governors of Kashmir are said to have been supplied from this spring. And I can bear testimony to its quality being very provocative of appetite.

The stream which runs from Koker Nag forms a junction with the Burengi river. A little farther up the strath, on the same side, is the opening into a small defile, through which is the way to the ebbing and flowing spring of Sondi Breri (about two miles out of the strath), and lying under the hill on the right bank; the whole country around being covered with forest. There is a way through the defile to the village of Kót, in the strath of Shahbad. The spring is in a small basin, eight feet deep, and about three or four yards in width; and on one side of it are some stone steps to enable the devotees to descend to the water.

* So pronounced. Probably Gokal, or Gokala, a name of Krishna.

After the No Roz, or the new day, as the vernal equinox is termed, a little more water than usual is observable in the basin, but this again subsides. About two months later, the water ebbs and flows rapidly for a quarter of an hour three times a-day,—morning, noon, and evening. The great day of the Hindus is the 15th of Har,* when several thousand people of both sexes are assembled, nearly naked, around this Bethesda of the valley, and wait for the rising of the water, praying it to appear; and those who are nearest to it shaking peacocks' feathers over it, as an act of enticement and veneration. When the basin perceptibly begins to fill, the immense multitude exclaim "Sondi! Sondi!" ("It appears! it appears!") and then they fill their brazen water-vessels, drink and perform their ablutions, and return towards their homes.

Bernier, who visited this spring, gives what he supposes to be a reason for the phenomenon, and remarks upon the rounded and isolated shape of the hill. There can be, I should think, no doubt that he is generally right, and that the ebbing and flowing are caused by the different degrees of heat under which the snow on the Panjal is melted at different times of the day. From the existence of such magnificent springs as Vernag,† Panjut, Vetur Wulur, Koker Nag, and the nature of the ebbing and flowing spring of Sondi Breri, and by the manner in which the limestone strata have fallen together at the roof-like entrance to the cave near Shahbad, we know that this end

* 13th of June.

† Perhaps Vara-nag. Vara signifies a blessing, or most excellent.

of the valley is much honey-combed (if I may use such an expression), and that the subterraneous channels are formed mechanically, and are probably not the result of explosions or escaping forces, as may be the case with the channels of the streams that burst through the trap-rocks around the Kosah Nag: and we may infer that the degree of heat to which the limestone strata have been at any time subjected has never been sufficient to fuse and amalgamate them; and, in fact, although, as at Shahbad, they are twisted and contorted in every direction, still the strata maintain their original and parallel position. But we have only to walk for a mile or two to the eastern side of the strath, and we have a fresh proof of the existence of large subterraneous passages. The Burengi river, after flowing for some distance under the bank, suddenly disappears beneath the ground. It first loses a portion of its waters in numerous little whirlpools, that are seen in full play amongst the rounded stones in its bed; and all that escapes absorption in that place pursues its course for a little farther, where it suddenly disappears through the bottom of a large fissure, formed by the almost perpendicular position of the limestone strata, and nearly large enough to allow a man on horseback to sit upright in it. The natives say that the spring of Achibul, or Yech-i-bul,* is but the reappearance of the river of Bureng. Probability is strongly in favour of this theory. Walnut-shells that have been thrown in it in Bureng are said to have reappeared at Achibul; and the direction thus ascribed to the river is much the same as it would

* The Place of the Yech.

have followed on the surface. The greater proportion, however, of the water of the Burengi river has been preserved from submersion, by a canal cut by one of the Mogul Emperors, by which the stream is continued, from above the place where it sinks, to some distance below it, and its waters are used for irrigating purposes. Under the hill, across the stream, is an old building, of a composition of mud and shingle.

The bridge of Tarnksum is thrown over a narrow channel in the rock, hollowed out, apparently, by the rushing waters of the Burengi river. The stone piers on which the old bridge was originally built are still remaining. It is a place of considerable strength, and is said to have been the scene of many a battle, in the mountain feuds between the inhabitants of Kishtawar and the Kashmirians in the olden time, as being the key to the possession of the Pergunah of Bureng,—a defile of which joins it, and debouches on the plain opposite to the bridge. The Musjid of Haji Daud* Sahib is prettily and conspicuously situated on the hill above it; and the valley of the Burengi river itself is continued on for one and a half day's march to the foot of the pass of Mir Bul, by which there is a horse-road to Kishtawar. When Shah Shuja,† the present, and then ex-Amir of Kabul, escaped from his confinement at Lahore, he repaired to Kishtawar. The Rajah, Tegh Singh, received him with kindness and the attention due to his rank. Azim Khan was at that time the Patan governor of Kashmir. The influential men around him sent secretly to Shuja to tell

* David. † The Lion King.

him they were well disposed towards him, and that if he would invade Kashmir they would join him. He informed Tegh Singh, who collected 3000 or 4000 men for him, and with this force he passed the Panjal at Mir Bul, and invaded the valley by way of Tarnksum, where Azim Khan had stationed a force, himself remaining at the village of Sahagám. Tegh Singh attacked the advanced force at the bridge in the night, and obtained some success; upon hearing which Azim Khan immediately mounted an elephant, and pushed forward with all his troops. Messenger after messenger were despatched to him to say that Shah Shuja had taken fright in consequence of a fall of snow on the Panjal, and had retreated, notwithstanding the success gained by Tegh Singh. At first he did not believe the intelligence; but when the truth was made apparent, he turned his elephant's head towards Islamabad, laughing heartily at the discomfiture of Shuja, which had been caused by that monarch's own timidity, indecision, and incompetency to command.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER XI.

Magnificent Spring—Probably a Subterranean River—Its Intense Cold—Fête to Sir Henry Fane—Colony of Dancing Girls—Native Melodies—The Extremity of Kashmir—Worshipping Place—Village of Nabog—Ascent of the Panjal—Noble View—Valley of Muru-Wurdwun—Snow-fall—Usual Time of its Occurrence in Kashmir—Singular Custom—April Fools—Islamabad—Confluence of the Jylum and the Kotihár River—Holy Spring—Majestic Ruins of Mar-Tund, the City of the Sun—Cyclops of the East—Holy Well—Hindu Antiquities—History of Kashmir—Wilson and Prinsep—Contemporaries of Alexander—Solar and Lunar Races—Institutes of Menu—Inscriptions on the Buddhu Stone—Origin of Buddhism—Researches of Prinsep—Kashmirian Language—The Jyns, a peculiar Sect of the Hindus—Dialects of Kashmir—Language of the Parsees.

CHAPTER XI.

LEAVING the village of Achigám, with its old mosque, on the mountain-side on the right, we arrive at the spring of Achibul, already noticed. It is the largest in Kashmir; so large, in fact, that I should imagine it to discharge more than the quantity of water contained in the Burengi river, where it loses itself, and that it had been swollen by subterraneous tributaries. The water rises from beneath the lime-stone rock at the extremity of the spur, from the ridge that forms the eastern side of the Pergunah of Bureng. It gushes out in four or five places, but the principal spring rises with such force as to form a mound of water, at least eighteen inches above the level of its edge, and ten or twelve feet in diameter; indicating a descent from the snowy Panjal, rather than from a level not more than seventy feet above it, and several miles distant. But still probabilities, as I have remarked, are in favour of its being the water of the Burengi river.

Bernier, speaking of the spring at Yech-i-bul, writes thus:—"In returning from Send Brary, I turned a little out of the highway, in order to sleep at Achiavel (Yech-i-Bul), which is a place of pleasure belonging to the old kings of Kashmir, and at present to the Great Mogul (Auringzyb). Its principal beauty is a foun-

tain, of which the water disperses itself on all sides around a building, which is not devoid of elegance, and flows through the gardens by a hundred canals. It comes out of the earth as if it remounted and returned from the bottom of a well, with violence and boiling, and in such abundance that it may rather be called a river than a fountain. Its water is admirably good, and is so cold that to hold the hand within it could scarcely be borne. The garden is very beautiful, on account of its allies, the great quantity of fruit-trees, apricots, and cherries, the quantity of jets-d'eau of all kinds of figure, of reservoirs full of fish, and a kind of cascade very high, which, in falling, makes a great sheet of thirty or forty paces in length, the effect of which is admirable, particularly at night, when they have placed below it an infinity of little lamps, which are arranged in holes made on purpose in the well, all which is of very great beauty."

The margin of the spring at Vernag is occasionally lighted in the same manner; and, in fact, throughout the East, the water is always thus adorned whenever there is an illumination. The reservoirs in the Ram Bagh, at Umritsur, were thus lighted up with peculiar effect, at the party given by Runjit to Sir Henry Fane and the escort, when on his visit to the Panjab in 1837.

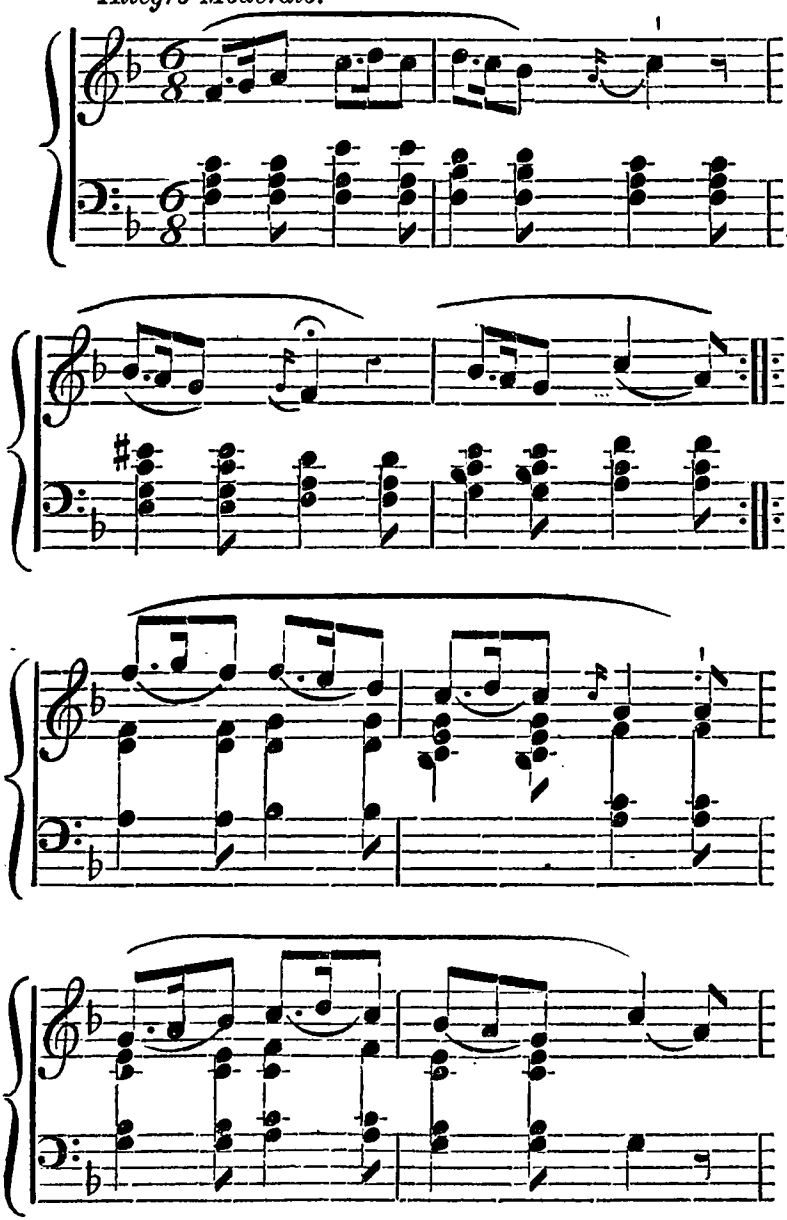
The water of Achibul is not very good for drinking. The streams of the different sources are soon united, and form a small river, which joins the Jylum near Islamabad. The ruins of the building just mentioned by Bernier are still standing; and those of the bath, the reservoir, and the garden, are still beside them. These were constructed by Shah Jehan, whence

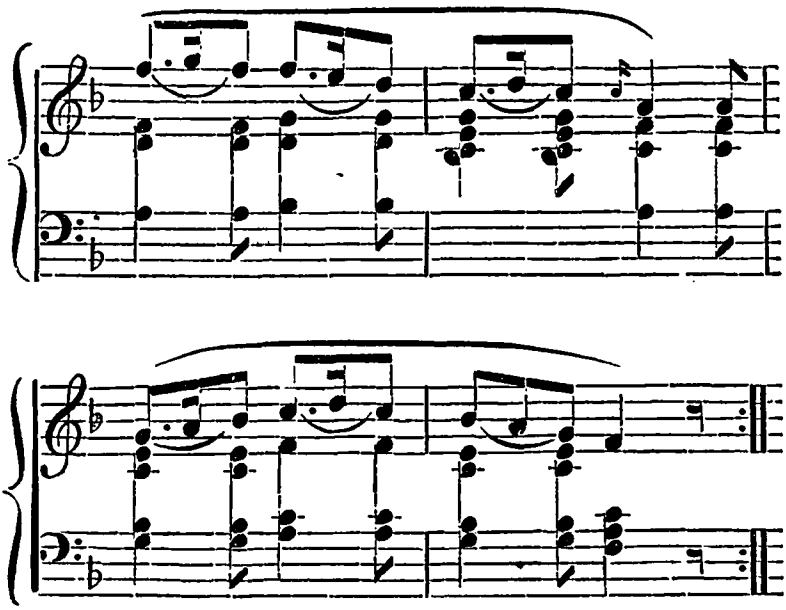
the place received and still retains its Musalman name of Sahib Abad. But whilst the work of the Emperor has fallen to decay, the magnificent stream flows on as it flowed then; and the whole place is beautifully shaded by the huge chunar-trees that were probably planted at the same time, and have since continued to increase in size and beauty.

The village of Changus, but a few miles from Achibul, was celebrated in times gone by as containing a colony of dancing girls, whose singing and dancing were more celebrated than those of any other part of the valley. I have heard Samud Shah and other old men breathe forth sighs of regret, and expressions of admiration, when speaking of days that were past; and the grace and beauty of one of the Changus' *danseuses*, whose name was, I think, Lyli, and long since dead, seemed to be quite fresh in their recollection. The village itself, like every thing else in Kashmir, has fallen to decay. A few of the votaries of Terpsichore still remain, but are inferior in beauty and accomplishments to those in the city, and continue to get a living by what would be technically called provincial engagements. From one of them, whom I heard singing, I picked up the following air, which I believe to be original, although the first line bears, it cannot be denied, a striking resemblance to that of Liston's "Kitty Clover." Of the words I know nothing, excepting that they were, as usual, of amorous import.

KASHMIRIAN DANCING GIRL'S SONG.

Allegro Moderato.





There is not much to induce the traveller to make an excursion to the extremity of Kotihár, which is a few miles distant from Achibul. The path leads through a jungle of low trees, much resembling the English hornbeam; and after crossing and recrossing the stream of the Araput river, and passing through the pretty village of Chitur, I arrived at a spot whence two small straths diverge from the head of the Pergunah.

Turning to the right, in an easterly direction from Achibul, we arrive at the débouchure of two passes, by the first of which, an easy road, I passed over to Sof-Ahun, and, by the other, I descended upon Nabog Nyh. Soon after leaving Achibul, I quitted the path leading to the pass to Sof-Ahun, in order to visit an old Hindu ruin called Kotyr. I found a square building, and an old tank, in no respect differing

from the usual appearance of the other old Hindu ruins in Kashmir.

On the north side of the Nabog Nyh pass, which is called Kachewun,* is a tank and a worshipping place, called Uomar Devi,† and is well worth visiting from any place in the neighbourhood. On approaching a recess in the mountain-side, I was surprised to find two or three excellent dwelling-houses and other neat buildings, a place crowded with fakirs, and possessed of an air of comfort and snugness that I little expected to find in the centre of a forest. The path by which I continued the ascent lay at first through a thicket of wych hazels, and, on the summit, it passed through a pine-wood, and thence descended into a very beautiful and parklike country, covered with low and swelling hills, which were carpeted with pasture, and sufficiently interspersed with streams and patches of forest to be rendered exceedingly picturesque, and a very desirable district for a grass farmer.

The village of Nabog is beautifully situated in a Nyh, which signifies a flat, wide, and cultivated headland in the mountains, lying in or at the extremity of a strath.‡ The Nyh is continued by a pass in the direction of Tarnksum, from which place I followed up the course of the stream to Nabog Nyh. It varies in width from one to two miles, contains two or three villages, and from one part of the defile there is a way over the Panjal to Sunigám.

* Wun is a corruption from the Sanscrit Vien or Vana, a wood.

† One of the names of the Goddess Parbuti, the wife of Siva.

‡ The defile that leads to a Nyh. It is called a Duru, or Nar, though Duru more properly signifies a valley, and Nar is used in speaking of a narrow glen or defile; but I have observed that the two latter terms are often used indiscriminately.

I twice ascended the Panjal which leads to Muru-Wurdwun, and finally quitted Kashmir by it on the 22d day of December, 1838. When I ascended the first time in order to see it, I started at an early hour in the morning, and returned to Nabog Nyh at ten o'clock at night, with my eyelids nearly closed from exposure to the snow. The pass, when free from snow, is rideable for the whole distance, excepting in a few difficult places; but, in consequence of the snow, I was obliged to walk, and was much fatigued. The first part of the ascent is through an Alpine forest, above which it finally rises; and, on the summit, the path lies on a flat of two or three miles in length, and three-fourths of a mile in width, covered with grass, but above the limit of forest, and bounded on each side by mountain peaks regularly disposed, and rising many hundred feet above it. The elevation is about 12,000 feet by thermometer, being about the same as that of the Pir Panjal pass.

A view of the noblest description is obtained from the commencement of the descent on either side. The lesser hills and spurs from the Panjal are seen as molehills on the plains of Kashmir; the villages are scarcely distinguishable; and the valley itself, from no point of view, appears more deeply sunk in the surrounding mountain; and the Pir Panjal, fifty miles distant, circling from one side of the horizon to the other, is nowhere seen to rise around with more grand and mural effect. On the eastern side, towards Tibet, the prospect is entirely of mountain-tops rising like the waves of a vast ocean, without a single object that presents the idea of a level spot of ground. Two very remarkable peaks rise very conspicuously above

the others in the distance; they appear to have been originally one, and afterwards divided. One is covered with snow; the other dark, being so steep and scarped that the snow will not lie upon it. They have various names—among others, Mer and Ser, and Nanu and Kanu; which latter are the names I have given them in my map. They rise, I believe, in the district of Purik, and I have placed them according to the geographical description I heard from my guides.

The appearance of the valley of Muru-Wurdwun is extremely deceitful: I could have supposed that a rifle-ball would reach it from the commencement of the declivity; whereas it is several miles distant; and the descent to it is so steep that the bottom is hidden by the crest of the hill which overhangs it. The course of the last-named valley can be followed amongst the mountain-tops, through the districts of Suru and Perkuchi, up to the peaks I have just mentioned; and it appears as if the Muru-Wurdwun river, or at least one branch of it, had its source at their feet.

On the other side of the row of peaks that bound the northern side of the ascent to the Muru-Wurdwun pass, I found a fine tank, about 100 yards square, and fed by a spring. The Nabog Nyh stream descends from it, and it must therefore be considered as one source of the Jylum. I forget its name.

I never experienced so much fatigue as in crossing over the Muru-Wurdwun pass, when I quitted Kashmir in order to proceed through the mountains to Lodiana. For a week previously I had been laid up with a severe illness, brought on by eating daily of a Kashmirian dish, composed of small pieces of mutton stewed up with a rich sauce, in which saffron, morells,

(called kunaguchu in Kashmirian, and kulah-Deo, or the devi's caps, in Persian), and honey, were the principal ingredients. I was very weak, for I had been fairly poisoned, perhaps with the saffron; of which, in fact, I have the strongest suspicions that a little too much had been purposely added, in order to prevent my leaving Kashmir by that way.

I rose, from a sick bed at Shahbad, in order to push forward to the pass, which I got over just in time, as the first snow of the winter fell thickly on the next day, and shut the pass for the season. I was obliged to lie down by the path-side several times, as I descended to the village of Wurdwun, where the villagers were waiting for me, and I arrived at my quarters by torchlight. I then drank plentifully of hot tea with a little brandy in it, bathed my feet, which were much swollen, in hot water, and went to bed; and, in the morning, I felt perfectly comfortable, and was enabled to continue my journey towards Kishtawar, being obliged, on account of the snow, to spend the next day but one, which was Christmas-day (1838), in the garret of a hovel at the village of Muru.

I have been twice in Kashmir when the new snow has fallen. About the 10th of December the summits of the Panjal are enveloped in a thick mist, and the snow usually falls before the 20th. This is the great fall which closes the passes (as already noticed) for the winter. It frequently happens that a casual fall takes place a month or three weeks earlier. This remains on the ground for three or four days, and then disappears beneath the sun's rays. I am speaking now of its falling on the plains of Kashmir. It occasionally falls on the mountains as early as Sep-

tember, and the cold blasts which it produces do great injury to the later rice-crops.

They have a custom throughout these countries which answers in some respects to what we call making an April fool. When the new snow falls, one person will try to deceive another into holding a little in his hand; and accordingly he will present it to him (making some remark by way of a blind at the same time) concealed in a piece of cloth, on a stick, or an apple, folded in the leaves of a book, or wrapped up in a letter, &c. If the person inadvertently takes what is thus presented to him, the other has a right to shew him the snow he has thus received, and to rub it in his face, or to pelt him with it, accompanied with the remark in Kashmiri, "Ṇo shin muburu"—new snow is innocent! and to demand also a forfeit of an entertainment, or a nach, or dance, or some other boon, of the person he has deceived. The most extreme caution is, of course, used by every one upon that day. Ahmed Shah, of Little Tibet, told me that some one once attempted to deceive him, by presenting him with a new gun-barrel, and pretended that he wished for his opinion about it; but that he instantly detected the snow in the barrel, and had the man paraded through the neighbourhood on a donkey, with his face turned towards the tail.

The Pergunah of Kotihár produces the best silk in Kashmir, chiefly, I believe, because it happens that the best mulberry-leaves are to be found there. The method of managing the worms is very primeval and slovenly; but a considerable quantity of raw silk is still produced in Kashmir generally, of which two-thirds go to the Panjab, all having been first taken

possession of by the Governor, who repays the producers in rice.

Islamabad,* so called in Persian, or Anat Nag,† in Kashmiri, is the next place to be visited, and is the largest town in the valley, the city excepted. It is now but a shadow of its former self; it contains but 600 or 700 houses; many of them are ornamented with most elegant trellis and lattice-work, but their present ruined and neglected appearance is placed in wretched contrast with their once gay and happy condition, and speaks volumes, upon the light and joyous prosperity that has long fled the country, on account of the shameless rapacity of the ruthless Sikh.

Islamabad is situated on the westward of, and under, a hill which rises to the height of about 350 feet above it, and commands an exquisite view of the plain and the mountain at the southern end of the valley. It is formed, as I have before remarked, of thin strata, of fine grey, mountain limestone, and having a quantity of shingly conglomerate, the remains of a beach, adhering to the steep that fronts the town. From its foot flows the holy fountain of Anat Nag, and its first waters are received into tanks whose sides are built up with stone, embellished with a wooden pavilion, and overshadowed with large chunar-trees; and around them are numerous idlers, Kashmirians, Sikh soldiers, Hindu fakirs, and dogs, reposing in the enjoyment of a cool air and delicious shade.

In the evening two or three aged Pundits were to be seen making their way to the place near which the

* Islamabad, the abode of the Mahometan faith.

† Anat Nag or Ananta Nag, the spring of Anant, the serpent of Vishnu, and the emblem of eternity.

spring issues from under the rock, and afterwards kneeling over the water, and mumbling their prayers, as their fathers had done before them, by the glare of lighted pieces of split pine,* which answers all the purposes of a torch, in consequence of the large quantity of turpentine which it contains.

The formation of the fountains of Ananta Nag is attributed to Vishnu or Narayan, whilst that of Vernag was produced by a blow from the trident of Siva.

There are two slightly warm and sulphureous springs in Islamabad. One rises close to Anat Nag; the other, a little to the southward, is the largest, and deposits the greatest quantity of sulphur.

There is a mosque in the town, built to the memory of Rishi Malu, a saint, to whose prayers in particular the reported defeat of Akber's first attempts to take Kashmir was attributed.

Islamabad is a Kusabah, or market-town. It contains a few houses of shawl-weavers, and handsome saddle-cloths and rugs of various pattern are still manufactured there.

The Araput, Huriput, or river of Kotihár, joins the main stream of the Jylum at Kanibul, about three quarters of a mile from the town. The smooth water of the latter river commences there, and large boats ascend it only up to that spot. The only derivation I know of for the name Jylum, and one that seems to me a very probable one, is to be found in the two words *jaui*, a canal or watercourse, and *lum*, a way; the latter is a commonly used Tibetian word, but may easily have crept into use in Kashmir. The word

* They are of the Pinus longifolia.

Thung, for instance, which signifies an open space on a hill, is used in Tibet and Kashmir—as Aha-Thung near the Manasa Bul. Haramuki (all sides or faces) is the name of a large mountain in Kashmir, and Hara Mosh, north-east of Gilghit, is evidently a compound of the same word. Many other instances may be brought forward in proof of a community of names in both countries.

At the village of Mar-tund, or "the sun," half an hour's ride from Islamabad, is the most holy spring in Kashmir, called, *par excellence*, Bawun, or the spring. It is said that, after the valley was dried, small hills and caves appeared, and that Kashuf Rishi* walked about in the greatest delight; that he accidentily found an egg (the mundane egg of the Hindus) shining most brilliantly, which he picked up. It broke in his hand, and from it flowed the springs of Bawun or Maha-Martund†—sacred, of course, to Vishnu, who divided the mountains at Baramula. Houses and Hindus surround the small tank which is formed near it, and which is swarming with Himalaya trout; but the superstitious Pundits objected to my catching one with my hand—which would not have been difficult, on account of the number, and the eagerness with which they are fed. The spring is inferior in volume to that of Yechibul, but not much so to Vernag or Kokurnag; and, like the latter, it gushes with impetuosity from a horizontal fissure in the limestone rock on which is based the Karywah, or raised plain of alluvium, which intervenes between Islamabad and the higher mountains, six miles in length and of nearly equal width, and

* Rishi is a sage, or holy man.

† The Great Surya, god of the sun.

elevated more than 100 feet above the lower plain. It is the largest of the Karywahs in Kashmir, and has evidently been secured in its position by the raised limestone strata at Islamabad, and the slope of the ground around it, which has compelled the stream of the Araput on its south side, and the torrent of the Lidur on the north, to flow along under its banks, without a chance of its being further diminished by the tear and wear of their respective floods. Although it is partially intersected with ravines, yet it is generally very flat, and carpeted with turf. A nobler race-course I have never seen; and as, in particular spots, it commands a most beautiful view of the valley, I venture to prophesy that in some future year the races and cricket-matches of Islamabad will be amongst the most celebrated in the East.

On the highest part of the Karywah, where it commences a rise to its junction with the mountains, are situated the ruins of the Hindu temple of Mar-tund, or Surya (the sun), or as it is commonly called the "Pandu-Koru," or the house of the Pandus and Korus,—of whom it is not in this place necessary to say more than that (as already remarked) they are the Cyclopes of the East. Every old building, of whose origin the poorer classes of Hindus in general have no information, is believed to have been the work of the Pandus. As an isolated ruin, this deserves, on account of its solitary and massive grandeur, to be ranked, not only as the first ruin of the kind in Kash-mir, but as one of the noblest amongst the architectural relics of antiquity that are to be seen in any country. Its noble and exposed situation at the foot of the hills reminded me of that of the Escurial: it has no forest

of cork-trees and evergreen oaks before it, nor is it to be compared in point of size to that stupendous building; but it is visible from as great a distance; and the Spanish Sierra cannot for a moment be placed in competition with the verdant magnificence of the mountain scenery of Kashmir.

On the northern side of the temple, at the distance of 150 yards, stand a few apricot-trees, and the residence of a Mojavir, or fakir, whose province is to superintend the existence of a well called the Chah-i-Babul,* or well of Harut-Marut. It is, I believe, very deep and very old, having been dug long before the time of the Moguls.

Harut and Marut were two angels, so say the Musalmans, who represented to the Almighty that the inhabitants of earth were plunged in wickedness, and they were sent downwards for the purpose of improving them; but having descended accidentally upon the house of a courtesan, they were surprised into an unhallowed liking for her society, and neglected the work of reformation to which they were appointed; they were, therefore, punished by being shut up in a well; and the Kashmirians say that the Chah-i-Babul is the place of their imprisonment.

Previously, however, to saying any thing more of the temple of Mar-tund, or its architecture, I wish to make a few remarks which are not irrelevant to the subject of Hindu antiquities; and, although to the accomplished Orientalist, they may appear to contain nothing but impertinent truisms, I hope the general reader will not think them superfluous, useless, or out of place.

* The well of Babel.

It is believed by the natives of Hindustán, that from the earliest ages to which even their traditions extend, their country was governed by two dynasties;—the Solar, called Surya or Sri-Vansa,* and the Lunar, called the Chandra-Vansa,† or Indu-Vansa. They were, perhaps, so named from the fairness of their complexions. Both were supposed to have come from the north-west. The aborigines of the country are supposed to be the Kolis who inhabit the hills south of Behar behind Benares, the Bhils of Kandish, and the other wild mountain-tribes of India.

Ten or twelve centuries before Christ, the city of Astanupur‡ on the Ganges, and now existing by the same name, had become the principal capital of the Lunar race. The five Pandus, or Pandavas, were the sons of Pand, one of the kings who reigned at Astanupur. Durtrasht, the brother of Pand, surnamed Kur or Kuru, from his blindness, is said to have had 100 sons, of whom Duryndun, the eldest, seized upon half of his uncle's property; upon which the Pandus, his cousins, separated from the family, and built Indaprestha, on the site of the Kutub§ pillar near Delhi. All parties then agreed to settle their disputes by the throw of dice. Yudhisthir, the eldest of the Pandus, lost the throw with Duryndun, and himself and his brothers, according to agreement, went into banishment for twelve years. It was during their wanderings that they were said to have erected the temples in Kashmir and other places, and Mar-

* Children of the sun. † Children of the moon.

‡ The city of the shrine.

§ The name of a Mahometan general.

tund, at this day, is sometimes called the Pandu-Koru, as already remarked.

Ptolemy fixes the *Pandæa regio* as περὶ δὲ τὸν Βιδασπην ἡ ΠΑΝΔΩΟΥ (πανδοουων) χώρα, "about the Hydaspes and the regions of the Pandus;" a locality to which Kashmir more than any other country can at present lay claim, on account of the number of old temples said to have been built by them.—*Vide* Wilson's "History of Kashmir."

When they returned, the sons of Kuru, their cousins, still refused to give them up their share of the patrimony, and a great battle ensued at Kuru-Kyt, or the Field of the Kurus, as it is still called, near Tanisha, between Kurnál and Sirhind, on the north-west frontier of India, in which the Astanupuris were defeated by the Pandus, with the loss of their empire, B.C. 1367.—*Vide* Prinsep's Tables.

The history of the above-written events is contained in the great Sanscrit poem of the Maha-Barat, or Great War.

Indaprestha seems to have remained as the capital of the north of India until the rise of the Magadha dynasty of the Chandra-Vansa, which, from about fifteen centuries before Christ, held their court at Potelipura, the modern Patna, and now generally supposed to have been the Palibothra of Alexander's historians.—*Vide* Robertson's "Disquisition on India."

Nanda, the last of the Magadha race, was dethroned by the usurper, Chandra Gupta, or Sandra Cottus, who reigned at Palibothra in the time of Alexander. This event happened in the year 315 B.C.,

a date which is now, for reasons which I shall shortly mention, the sure and principal starting point of Indian chronology.

The appellation of Sanscrit, which signifies "perfect," is one which should rather be confined to the language than to the character, as the latter has varied in different ages. It is supposed to have been introduced by the Solar and Lunar races. But the character in which it is written is found to differ, according to the date of the books or inscriptions. The earliest specimens of these are the four Vedas, arranged a little before the Maha-Barat by Muni Vyasa, the principal of the Rishis, or immediate descendants of Brahma, and which contain the history of the Hindu theogony. — *Vide* Prinsep's Tables, p. 85. The Vedas have not, I believe, been thoroughly examined.

Shastras are collected comments and rules upon any subject. A sastra (pronounced shastra) upon poetry, for instance, would signify the body of all that has been written on the subject of poetry. As applied to the Vedas, the shastras seem to be a summary of ordinances, comments, and expositions of the Vedas, written by different Brahmins upon different times.

The Institutes of Menu are the oldest Hindu code in existence, and instruct the Hindus in their religious and civil duties, by precepts drawn from the Vedas; they are said to have been composed by Swuyambuva, the grandson of Brahma, and the first of the holy sages called Menus.

The eighteen Puranas, or books of prophecy, are

also said to be compiled by Muni Vyasa (the sage), and all the other sacred books of the Hindus, were originally, no doubt, written in the Sanscrit language; but in a character that varies with the time. All Sanscrit books are now copied in Nagri or Deva-Nagri (the language of the city of the gods),—which is a character and not a language, and said to have been invented by Sarasvati, the wife of Brahma. There are various inscriptions existing, of the date of ten centuries before Christ, which are written in the Sanscrit language, but in characters differing from the modern Deva-Nagri, which is found on monuments of the thirteenth century, when the irruption of the Moguls under Timur prevented any further change.*

The inscriptions in Kashmir and the Alpine Panjab, which are known by the name of the old Buddhu Stone, are, I believe, of the Sanscrit language, but written in the old Tibetian character, which the learning and perseverance of M. Csoma de Koros have furnished the world with the means of deciphering.

When, however, I visited the Buddhu Stone at Iskardo, an old Ladaki, who was with me, picked out a meaning from some of the words which he could here and there decipher, and which was to the same effect as the regular translation of it which has appeared in one of the numbers of the Asiatic Society's Journal.

Manetho or Manethon was a priest of Heliopolis in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who wrote a fabulous account of the Egyptian dynasties; but in which is acknowledged the existence of a supreme,

* *Vide* Preface to Prinsep's Tables.

eternal, and infinite God.—*Vide* Maurice's "Ancient History of Hindustan," chap. iii.

Pali, from Pal, a shepherd, is nearly allied to Sanscrit, and the name is properly applied to the sacred language of the Buddhists. Pali is supposed to have been the language of Magadha (Southern Behar above Bengal), whence Buddhism sprung up in the year 543 B.C., which is the date of the death of Buddha, and thence spread to Central and Western India, and Ceylon. Asoka was its great patron. He reigned over Kashmir, although his capital was at Palibothra, and spread its doctrines in India in 250 B.C. They reached China in the year 78 B.C., having previously passed through the Indo-Chinese countries. At Gya, in Southern Behar, is the holy pipul-tree, said to have been planted by Buddha himself. The Buddhist Scriptures, excepting in Tibet, are written in the Pali language and Deva-Nagri characters; the characters of the Pali itself being unknown till very lately, when Mr. James Prinsep, to whom the Orientalists had been already so much indebted, was rewarded for the patient exertion of his talents and his learning, by the brilliant discovery of the key which enabled him to decipher them. At Delhi, Allahabad, and in Northern Behar, there are laths or pillars, with long inscriptions upon them in an unknown character, which are now completely understood to be all of the same import. They record the conversion of Asoka to Buddhism; directing trees to be planted by the road-side, temples, &c. to be built; and what is of the utmost importance to chronology, they notice Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy (Philadelphus?) as his allies and contemporaries. The cha-

racters known as the Allahabad character are distinct from that on the pillar, and many others are but later varieties of the same.

"He first," says Professor H. H. Wilson, when speaking of Mr. Prinsep, "made out the legends on the reverses of the Bactrian coins, on the ancient coins of Surat, and on the coins of the Hindu princes of Lahore, and their Mahometan successors, and formed alphabets of them, by which they can now be readily perused. But even still more brilliant success attended his efforts to decipher the inscriptions on various temples and columns in different parts of Hindustan. And it is to him that we are indebted for the important fact, that the rocks of Cuttack and Guzerat preserve the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy, and record the intercourse of an Indian monarch with his neighbours in Persia and Egypt."

Tibetian books are supposed to have been originally written in Pali, and to have been translated into Sanscrit, in the Deva-Nagri or Tirhutiya character, in about the ninth century before the Christian era.

Mr. Howitt, in his beautiful work on "Rural Life in England," has remarked that an English gipsy is addressed as "Palli!"—brother or comrade.

The Vedas inculcate to the Hindus the merit of shedding blood in sacrifices; whence one reason for supposing that the Druidical religion was that of the Brahmins. But the leading tenet of the doctrines of the Buddhists and the Jyns is the sin of depriving any animal of life unnecessarily. The Brahmins respect fire; the Buddhists, it is said, do not; though the plates full of juniper frying in goat's grease, which were presented to me at Hanu, in Great Tibet, would tend

in my mind to the formation of a contrary opinion. By their religion a priest is bound to celibacy; and a Buddhist incurs guilt by killing even a fly; by the mere wish for company of women, the use of strong liquors, a theft, or a lie, if of ever so trifling a kind. They must not eat of any animal killed on purpose for their repast, but may eat of any food fairly offered in charity.—*Vide* Moor's "Hindu Pantheon," &c. p. 229.

The languages now spoken, which are derived from the original and pure Sanscrit, are denominated Pracrit. The Italian is a Pracrit of Latin. The Hindu, Gujerati, Tirhutya, Bengali dialects, and others, are Pracrits. The language of Kashmir is a Pracrit. The Kashmirians, says Abu Fuzl, have a language of their own. I was told on good authority, that out of one hundred Kashmiri words, twenty-five will be found to be Sanscrit, or a Pracrit, forty Persian, fifteen Hindustani, and ten will be Arabic; some few are also Tibetian. There is an uncouth rusticity about the Kashmirian pronunciation which is almost sufficient, at least I thought so, to betray the language as a *patois*, even to a person who did not understand it. The Sikhs, their lords and masters, are well aware of their erroneous pronunciation, and have a standing order against the admission of any Kashmirian as a recruit, on account of their almost proverbial timidity; and if a man present himself for enlistment, and is suspected of being a Kashmirian, he will be told to utter some word, such as Ghora (a horse), which, if he be of the valley, he will pronounce broadly Ghoura or Ghura, and be thus detected.

The Jyns (Jains) are a sect of Western India, so called after their founder, Jyna, whose name signifies, I believe, "the Holy." They are chiefly to be found in Guzerat, where they have some beautiful temples, upon Mount Abu. Their books are in the Sanscrit language, and the Deva-Nagri character, and are considered to be the best native records in India. Their doctrines are between those of the Brahmins and Buddhists. They do not worship Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, as do the Hindus; but respect their tenets in some other particulars. They do not believe in the Avatars, or incarnations, of Vishnu; but that man becomes omniscient by virtuous conduct, that he is a free agent, and that there are future rewards and punishments; that there is a paradise for the good, but a heaven, called Mukut, for the best, where the elect are reabsorbed in the Deity; that the component parts of the universe only will suffer dissolution, enough being left as a basis for the renewal of creation. They maintain also that women cannot arrive at Mukut, although they may reach paradise. They are much disliked by the Brahmins.

They have twenty-four Tirthankaras, or prophets, the last of whom was the master of Buddha, and the last before him, named Parswanath, was the most celebrated.

Of the Pelhevi language little certain is known. It is said to have been spoken in Azerbijan; but the term Pelhevi is usually applied to the written characters used in Persia during the times of the Parthians. It is seen on a few inscriptions on antiques, and on the Indo-Scythian coins of Kanourkos.

The Deri is supposed to have been the old lan-

guage of Persia before the invasions of the Moslems in the seventh century, when the Persian became mixed with the Arabic vocables. Ferdausi's great poem, the "Shah Nameh," or History of the Kings, is said to be written in the pure Deri or old Persian. Modern Persian, with a mixture of Arabic, is spoken by all classes in Persia, from Azerbijan to Mushid.

At Herat commences a mixture of Poshtún, or the native language of Afghanistan; but the Persian is the French of Asia; it is the language of correspondence, and is understood and spoken by persons of rank throughout the Panjab, India, and Turkistán.

Arabic is a cognate with Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, and was unknown, comparatively speaking, until spread by the conquests of the Musalmans. It then furnished numerous words to the Persian, Turkish, Poshtún, Malay, &c. It afterwards crept into Hindustani, and is now, I need not add, spoken in Egypt, Syria, Barbary, &c.

The languages of the Kaucasus, it is said, differ from all others as yet known.

Poshtún is the name of the Afghan nation as well as of their language. The meaning of the word is not known.

The Turki is only, I believe, a dialect of the Turkish, differing in consequence of other languages being used by the intervening nations.

The languages of the Tibets are noticed elsewhere.

The arrow-headed character is found in the ruins of Persepolis, and on bricks and stones in the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh. All these three cities were occasionally under each other's dominion. It has been deciphered by Professor Grotefend, and the celebrated

inscription near Hamadán, on the Bi-Sitún (without a pillar), has been deciphered by Major Rawlinson, whose admirable dissertations have added so much to our knowledge of the geography of ancient Persia.

The Kufic is the old form of Arabic, named after the ancient city of Kufa near Bagdad, where the prophet Ali was buried after his assassination. The inscriptions on Mahmud's pillars at Ghuzni are in Kufic.

The Zend is the sacred language of the Parsis, Ghebers, or fire-worshippers, and their book is the Zend-Vesta, Khoda-Vesta, or Vendidad, containing an account of their tenets, and is now written in Persian and Guzerati. I need scarcely remark, that the Ghebers, when expelled from Persia by the Mahometans, took refuge in India, and principally in Guzerat. The Reverend Mr. Wilson of Bombay, who has effected the conversion of two Parsee boys to Christianity, has obligingly informed me that he had lately, but reluctantly, come to the conclusion, that the Zend is a forged language. It would be but justice to suppose that his local advantages, and thorough acquaintance with the Guzerati language, would enable him to form a very correct opinion on the subject; and he adds, that, with all deference to the *savans* of Europe, he is persuaded that the Zend is nothing but a mixture of Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, and Guzerati words, with clumsy and partial inflections from the Guzerati idiom. It is singular, however, and I have it, through Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B., on the authority of Major Rawlinson, a very competent judge, that a language similar to the Zend is undoubtedly spoken at the present day

in the mountain of Desmár, in Karadagh, on the west of the Caspian and north of Azerbijan.*

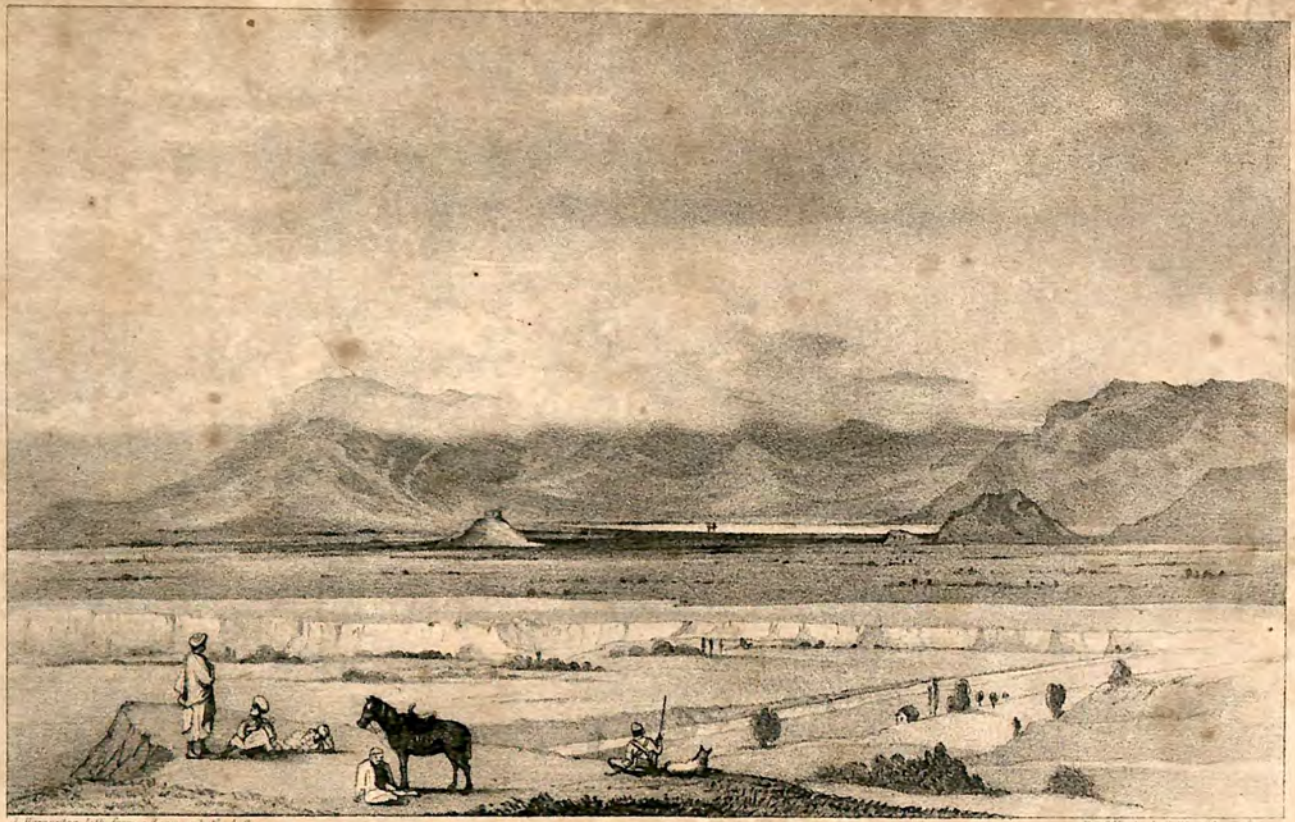
The Urdu or Oordu became the court language of India after the first Mahometan invasion by Timur. The word signifies, I believe, an army, that is, the language of Timur's soldiers. The Hindi is the written language of India in the Deva-Nagri character. Hindustani is a mixture of both, and is commonly spoken, but with numerous dialects.

* The land of fire and fire-worshippers, the ancient Media.

TRAVELS IN KASHMIR.

CHAPTER XII.

Professor Wilson's Essay upon the Ancient History of Kashmir—Hindu History—Rajah Taringini—Traditions and Sects—Kashmir once a great Lake—Drained by Solomon—Singular Saying—Worship of the Sun in Kashmir—The Pandus—King Lulu—Snake Worshippers—Ancient Coins in Kashmir—Alpine Country—Ancient Cities—The Durds, the Dadicæ of Herodotus—Husárá—Ancient and Modern Names of Places in Kashmir—Martund, Temple of the Sun—Its Present Condition—Singular Architecture—Trefoil Arches—Worship of Vishnu and Siva—Enormous Stones—Isolated Pillar—Various Styles employed in the Temple of Martund—Dates of the Ruins in Kashmir—Opinions of Professor Whewell on the Ruins in Kashmir—Resemblance to the Ark—Descendants of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba—Mr. Wolff—The Afghans Descendants of Jacob—Solomon's Throne—Professor Willis on the Ruins in Kashmir—Noble Site of Martund—Chief Ruins in Kashmir.



J. Barnerton Lith. from a drawing by the Author.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen.

Distant view of SIRINAGUR, or the CITY of KASHMIR, lying between the FORT and the TUKT-I-SULIMAN, with the LAKE and the ISLE of CHUNARS, and the MOUNTAIN of HARAMUK in the distance. Looking N.E by N.

CHAPTER XII.

I TRAVERSED the valley in company with Professor H. H. Wilson's "Essay,"* and have endeavoured to identify the names and places mentioned in that learned and elaborate treatise, and in many instances have not been unsuccessful. As to manuscripts, I have seen a very few whose appearance betokened age, and whose age betokened value; but my knowledge of the cunning of the Kashmirians, and my ignorance of Sanscrit and the Deva-Nagri character, made me so suspicious, that in all cases I have refused to give the prices asked for them. Persian manuscripts are common enough; but having usually taken the best advice on the subject, I do not think that I have missed any in either language that had any pretensions to be considered as a rarity. I observe that the French Asiatic Society were desirous of knowing whether the "metier d'un copyiste" still existed in Kashmir. There are, perhaps, 100 Kaṭtibs, or book-writers, still existing in Kashmir, at the rate of about five to ten rupis for a small quire or juzu.

The Hindu history of Kashmir begins with the

* Any one who wishes for a more general acquaintance with the ancient history of Kashmir, as detailed in the Rajah Taringini and other works, should read the "Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir," *Trans. of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv., by H. H. Wilson, Esq. A.M. and Sanscrit Professor in the University of Oxford.

story of the lake Sati-Saras. Sati (Suttee) signifies a true or chaste wife, in which sense it is one of the names of the wife of Siva. The account of her burning herself is found in the Vishnu Purana, p. 65, and note; and Hindu widows, as I have already noticed, burned themselves in imitation of her. Saras or Sar signifies a lake or water. I have already noticed the mountains of Sati, or Seta Sar, at the north-west end of Kashmir, from which the whole of the valley is visible.

The Raja Taringini, or History of the Rajahs of Kashmir, is (according to Mr. Prinsep) the only Indian history of any antiquity, and commences with an account of the desiccation of the valley by Kasyapa Muni, supposed to allude to the Deluge (*Vide* Wilson's "Essay"). The country was entirely covered with water; in the midst of which resided the Demon Jala or Jewala Deo, the spirit god, who preyed upon mankind. It happened that Kashef,* the son of Marichi, and, according to some, the grandson of Brahma, visited the country, lived in pious abstraction upon Mount Sumer,† or Soma,‡ turned his attention to the desolate appearance of the earth, and inquired the cause. The people told him of the residence of Jala Deo in Sati Sar, and his predatory incursions. Kashef lived a thousand years in austerity, upon the hill of Naubudan, near Hirapur; in consequence of which, Mahadeo (the great God or Creator) sent his servants, Vishnu and Brahma, to expel the demon. Vishnu was engaged in the conflict for

* The Mahometan name of Kasyapa.

† Perhaps Sumer or Samur Shung, near Bij Beara.

‡ The moon.

100 years; and at last opened the mountains at Baramula, by which the waters were drained off, and the demon was exposed, taken, and slain; whence the country is called Kashuf Sar, or the lake of Kashuf.*

The Musalmans, as I have elsewhere noticed, say that the draining of Kashmir was performed by the prophet Suliman (Solomon), through the instrumentality of the same Kashuf, who, they say, was a Gin or Deo, and the servant of that monarch.†

Following the epitome of the Rajah Taringini by Professor Wilson, I will shortly remark on such isolated parts of it as I think worthy of notice, with regard to what is there mentioned of particular places and individuals, and will state the success or non-success of my attempts at identification.

I have heard nothing of Kusalghám, the King of Islamabad, nor of Nander Khan, who introduced fire-worship.

The saying relative to the death of Sankur Khan is still known in Kashmir: "One caldron and one fire saw seven kings before the flesh was boiled."

It would appear also, from the same authority, that Khagendra (B.C. 500) was the first King or Rajah of Kashmir, who founded a city; although several others are afterwards recorded to have done so.

* Kashuf signifies literally a tortoise; no unfit name for a resident in Kashmir when it was covered with water.

† "Pour moi je ne voudrais nier que cette terre n'eut autrefois été couverte d'eaux: où le dit bien de la Thessalie et de quelques autres pays: mais j'ai de la peine à croire que cette ouverture soit l'ouvrage d'un homme, parceque la montagne est très large et très haute."—BERNIER: *Voyage de Kachemire.*

Khagi is probably the present village of Kharg. Gaumaha (the Great Cow) also mentioned, is a place still known in its neighbourhood — at least so I was informed. I would venture to add my opinion, as the result of some little experience, to that of Dr. Vincent, who thinks that many of the names occurring in classical authors may be traced to native appellations existing amongst the Hindus to this day.

I have already noticed the wars of the Pandus.

The king, called Lu, or Lulu, founded a city in the Pergunah of Lolab, in Kashmir, which was, and still is, named after him.

Asoka repaired the temple at Vijayesa, now I believe Bij-Beara, an etymology which I have afterwards noticed. This, I believe, is the building said to have been so high as to have thrown a shadow a kos long at sunrise. The attempt to fix its height by this criterion, when the remaining data are correctly ascertained, will be interesting and curious. The mound on which it stood is known by the name of Soma or Sumer Thung, already noticed. None of the building is now remaining. Its fall may have been accelerated by the zeal of the snake-worshipping princes who succeeded Asoka, and by the still more infuriate bigotry of Sikundur But-Shikan.*

I made, of course, much general inquiry for old coins, giving out that I was always ready to purchase them; but on the eastern bank of the Indus my success has been very trifling. The barren and Alpine country that separates Kashmir from Yarkund and Turkistán is of great extent; the coinage of the

* Alexander, the idol-breaker, the sixth Musalman king of Kashmir, A. D. 1396.

north is not recognised in the south; and the natives of the last-mentioned countries bring down bullion instead of rupis, in the shape of little anvils of silver (syci), each worth about 250 rupis, as an article of traffic. The merchants have been the only coiners; and if old silver coins have been at any time their fellow-travellers, they have probably been often melted down, and the metal sold for its intrinsic value. Its being separated and distant from the high-road between east and west in the plains, is a sufficient reason for the non-existence of many old silver coins in the valley, as far as the south is concerned. I think that when the mound of Samur Thung is properly dug into, many copper coins will be found in it. I would have set people to work myself, had I thought it worth while to remain on the spot to watch the workmen, — which I did not, as the few that I preserved from it were of copper, and much injured by time.

I have never seen an old silver coin or a Bactrian coin in the valley. There is one description of copper coin, however, of which I have several, that were given to me, as already mentioned, by the Rajah of Rajawur, in whose country they were dug out; and I have seen the same in Kashmir. They bear an impression of a head, and on the reverse that of a figure armed like a Grecian soldier, and are far more natural than the grotesque figures upon the Indo-Scythian coins. They have most likely been stamped in imitation of the Greek coins.*

* Kashmir has since been visited by Capt. Alexander Cunningham, who writes that he has made "a very good collection of

The tradition of Damodar II. being transformed into a snake is still preserved in Kashmir. Snake-worship gained ground after this miracle, although the snake must always have been held sacred, in consequence of the tradition of the serpent connected with the draining of the valley, which would also shew that it was coeval with any that they have. The snake is the companion alike of Siva and Vishnu; and when curled with his tail in his mouth is the well-known emblem of infinity; and hence the Hindu deities are often decorated with snakes. It is mentioned by Arrian, that the ambassadors of Abbasares told Alexander that two enormous serpents were worshipped in their country; and this would seem to corroborate the opinion that that country was Kashmir. —*Vide supra.*

There is a small lake near Drabogám, called the Nil-nag,* further noticed, which I have seen, but have not been able to connect with it the name of Mahaswara, a name of Siva, signifying the Great Lord.

There is a bed of white clay, or chalk, near Mamleshur, in the Pergunah of Kauhinpara, which is perhaps the Malwa alluded to by Abu Fuzl.

Holora I was informed is the modern Pergunah of Aulur or Trahl.

It is written that the temple on the top of the Tukt-i-Suliman was built by Rajah Gopaditya (B.C.

the coins of the Hindu Rajahs of Kashmir preceding the Mussulman conquest."—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1841.

* Blue serpent, or lake.

82*), or, according to other accounts, by Gomarmind, the son of the Rajah of Yech, who reigned in the Pergunah of that name.

Of all the cities built by the great Lalitaditya, Martund, Kakapur, and Paharispúr, are the only three whose names I have been able to recognise. The former I have already noticed near Pampur; the ruins of the latter are on mounds near the marshes of Simbul on the Jylum. Vajraditya drained it of its valuables and money; and Sankara Verma also constructed a city chiefly of materials furnished by the ruins of Paharispur, and whose remains, with the great capital of the Garuda pillar I have already noticed near the Tukt-i-Sulimán, and on the right hand of the path from Pampur to Sivirnagur.—*Vide* Wilson's "Essay," pages 53 and 65.

Urasa is now called Gurys, a valley afterwards noticed, three days' march from the city towards Little Tibet, *viâ* Bunderpur, on the Wulur lake.

Chusma (or the spring) i-Muthan is, I suppose, the same as Mar-tund.

There is, I believe, a place called Khampila, near Shupeyon.

The Durds, most probably the Dadicæ (Δαδικαι) of Herodotus, are the inhabitants of the country now called Dardu. The major axis of the valley of Kashmir would, I think, if continued, cut through the Dardu country, on the banks of the Indus. It appears to be distinct from Darva, afterwards mentioned. Ptolemy's idea is a very correct one, con-

* *Vide* Prinsep's useful Tables.

sidering that he did not know how far off the sources of the Indus were. "Sub fontibus Indi, Deradræ, (Δερδαι), horum montana supereminent." — *Vide* "Essay," p. 104.

Paktawur, a country north-west of Kashmir, on the right bank of the Kishen Gunga, is, I conclude, the Pactyaca of Herodotus.

Pakli is the origin of the Greek Peucelaotis, though that name was applied to the plain of Peshawur, and modern Pukli is on the east bank of the Indus.

Darva, the Dawurd of Abu Fuzl, where it is said that a King of Kashmir resided for six months, during a season of excessive cold, is, no doubt, the modern Darawur, also on the right bank of the Krishen or Kishen Gunga, and on the other side of the Panjal, and is probably warmer than Kashmir, being much less exposed, and perhaps lower.

Abhisára, I have little doubt, also is the modern Husárá or Astor. Ahmed Shah told me that the former was the correct name. Those parts of it that border on the Indus must be warmer than Kashmir. Apó or Abu is sometimes used as a prefix in the east, particularly where age is to be expressed; as Abu-Sind, the father river, or Indus; it is also a name applied to an old man in Tibet. Abba, Father, also, in the New Testament. I was disposed to think that Abhisares or Abassares, as it is written by Arrian, was compounded of Abu and Saras, सरस, a lake, which would have been in accordance with Kashmirian tradition; but Professor Wilson informs me that the correct derivation is from अभि, Abhi, high, and Saras, सार, essence, substance, but also sig-

nifying, as in this combination, the place of going to, or up; and the word Abhisara, therefore, is a term for the highlands or mountains; and the entrance to them up the bed of a river. Husára, therefore, would be derived from the same word, it being chiefly attainable from the place of its junction with the Indus. Husára lies north of Kashmir, which fact would also supply a reason for the remark of D'Anville, that no notice was taken of it in the details of Alexander's marches.

Pravarasena is said to have carried off the throne of the Apsarasas. (Wilson's "Essay," p. 39.) Unless the word Apsarasas be a mistake for Abhisara, which it perhaps is, the story becomes a legend — as Apsarasas are the beautiful dancing girls in the heaven of Indra, or the firmament, and somewhat resemble the Houris of the Musalmans.

The Satagydæ* (Σαττα γύδαι) might, perhaps, be read as Suhátagydæ, the inhabitants of the province of Suhát; or they perhaps came from a district (and a village also) called Suti, on the Krishen Gunga, between Darawur and the bridge at Kunzelwun, on the borders of Pactawur.

M. Court has placed a people called the Kandari (Γανδαριοι), at the junction of the Khunur with the Kabul river. Kandahar would seem to be as obviously derived from the same original root. But the mountains of Gand Gurh, the fort of the Gand or Gandari, are near Derabund, on the Indus. The

* Tha. 91. "The Sattagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ, and the Aparytæ, were classed together, and contributed 170 talents; and they were the seventh prefecture."— *Vide* "Essay," 103.

Gandhar Brahmins are mentioned as a low race in Wilson's "Essay," p. 28.

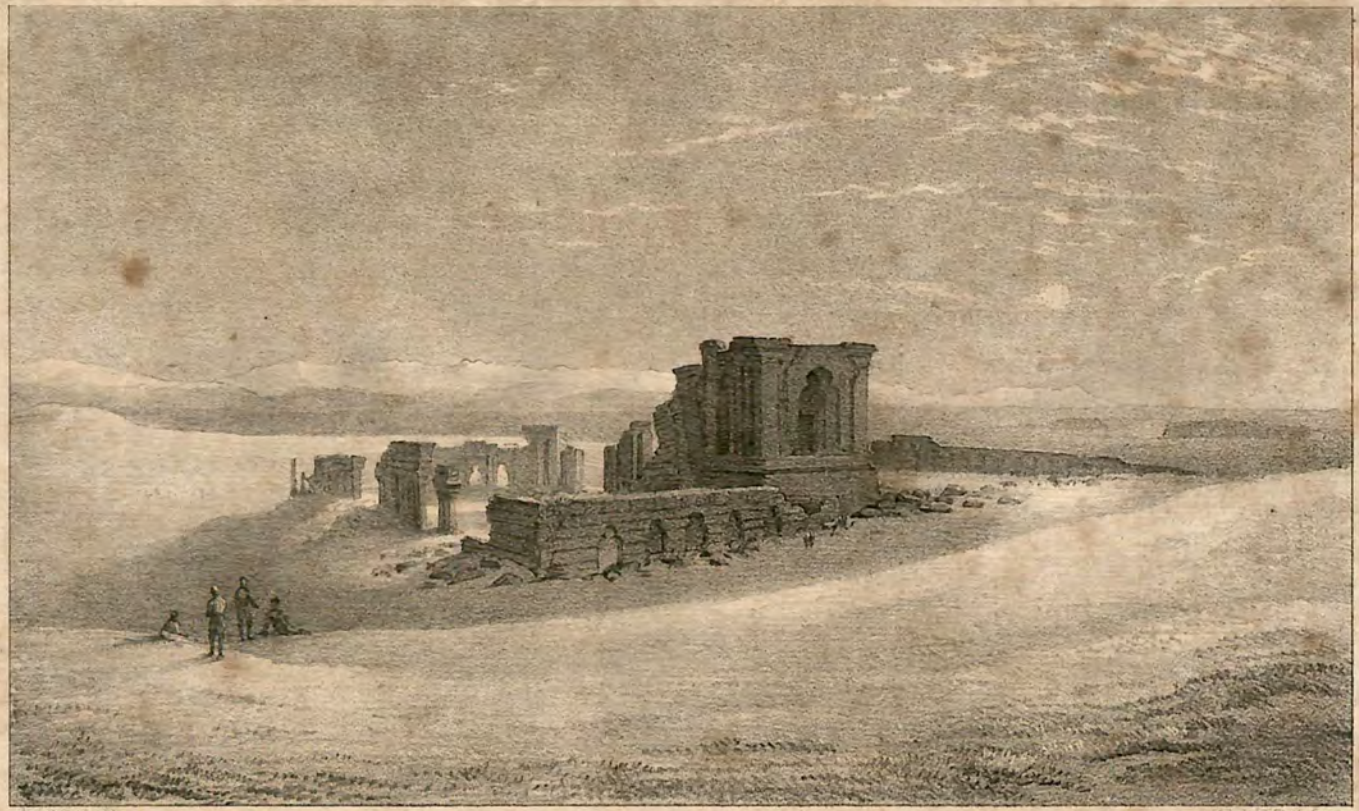
Between Bhimbur and Púnch there is, as already noticed, a range of hills called Koh-i-Ruti, the mountain of the Ruti or Reti, whence, perhaps, the name Ἀπαρυτοι of Strabo; but I feel much less confidence in this than in the other identifications.

I have reserved some remarks on the name of Kashmir until another place.—*Vide supra.*

"Rajah Lultadut (Lalataditya)," says Abu Fuzl, "was a glorious prince, and gave great attention to the prosperity of his kingdom; and with the divine assistance he conquered Irán, Turán, Fars, Hindustán, Khatái, and almost all the rest of the habitable world. He died in the northern mountains. It is said that, at the curse of a holy man, he was transformed into a stone. There are other marvellous stories of him, too tedious for narration."

The modern account of Martund, as written for me by a native, is as follows:—

"They (that is, the temples and houses) were built on the top of Martundh, which appears to have been the name of the plain (of the sun), by Rajah Liltadith, or Lalataditya, who dwelt in the village of Litapur, in the province of Wuhu (perhaps Vehi). He reigned in the year of the Hejira 192. He was ruler of Kashmir for nearly thirty-six years, and conquered the four quarters of the world. He built a new city, splendid in every respect, on the top of Martundh. Some of the houses were of copper, brass, stones, and bricks. He caused a river or canal to be cut from the great river Limnurdhi (hodie Lidur),



GREAT HINDU TEMPLE OF MARTUND OR THE SUN ON THE PLAIN ABOVE ISLAMABAD IN KASHMIR
WITH THE PIR PANJAL ON THE FURTHER SIDE OF THE VALLEY, LOOKING W.N.W.

which he named Shah-Kul, and had the water conveyed to the top of the hill. The stone temples were ornamented within with jewels, pearls, and gold. The stone pillars (*i. e.* each stone) in front of the temples are thirty yards in breadth. Their height was such that they were beyond limits; and a great poet, I know not who, has described them in this couplet:—

"When the heavens look toward this royal building, its tiara falls upon the earth."*

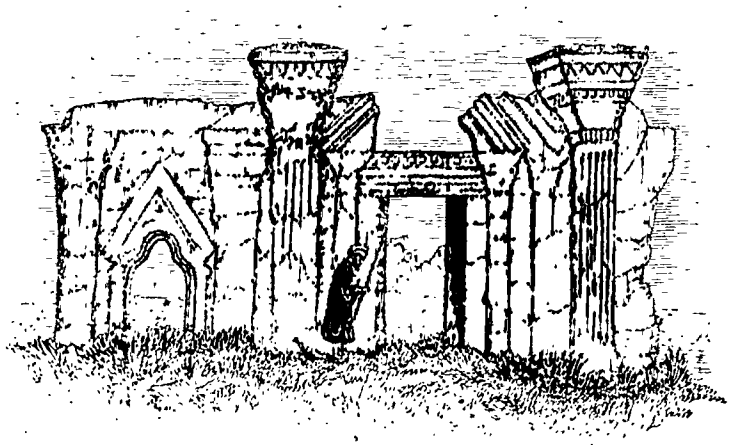
The meaning of which is, that its head is so much bent backwards for the purpose of looking upwards, that the tiara cannot remain upon it. And it is also added, that Liltadut built for his own residence many houses of stone, the remains of which, together with the temples, are still to be seen.

I have often seen Hindus worshipping at the different holy springs in Kashmir, but never in the temples; and as religious buildings they seem to be entirely neglected, excepting that a Hindu will, perhaps, make a salaam when he first enters one of them.

At present, all that remains of the Pandu Koru, or Temple of Martund, consists of a central and rectangular building, surrounded by a court, or quadrangle, and rectangular colonnade, facing inwards. The length of the outer side of the wall, which is blank, is about ninety yards; that of the front is about fifty-six. The remains of three gateways opening into the court are now standing. The principal of these fronts due east towards Islamabad. It is also rectan-

* This is a Norse allegory also; "Utgard, a place so high, that you had to strain your neck bending back to see the top of it."—*Vide* Carlyle's "Lectures on Heroes," &c. p. 61.

gular in its details, and built with enormous blocks of limestone, six or eight feet in length, and one of nine, and of proportionate solidity, and cemented with an excellent mortar. There are, I think, about twenty of the pillars of the colonnade, along the inside of the wall, now remaining, out of more than double that number. The height of the shaft of each pillar is six feet, of the capital twenty inches, and of the base two feet. Between each pillar in the wall are trefoiled niches. But the annexed sketch of the



north gate, which is in better preservation than the others, will give a clearer idea of the architecture than can be conveyed by a description. It will be seen by it that the height of the wall, when the building was perfect, must have been about fifteen feet, that of the doorway about eight, and that the larger pillars were part of a portico. Nearly behind each of the latter is a pilaster, but that on the left of the opening (looking at it from the front) is one of the pillars forming the colonnade.

On the interior of the west front there are six pillars on each side of the gate; the east side is a heap of ruins. The capitals of the larger pillars are ornamented with dentils; the shaft, which is grooved rather than fluted, is surmounted by an ornamented neck of beads. The bases are so disfigured by time that I can scarcely conjecture what they may have been. The form of the arch is trefoil. It is perceived in the shape of the open niche, or doorway, between the pillar and the pilaster, and is surmounted by a single and pointed architrave. The little ornament over the top of the arch is the bust of a female figure, with a string of beads across the breast—most likely that of Luchmi, the wife of Narayun, or Vishnu, to whom, as Surya, or the sun, the temple is dedicated. But it may be that of Parbuti.*

* Surya, or the sun, is generally represented in a chariot, and, as in the cast at the East India House, sitting on a seven-headed serpent, and holding the attributes of Vishnu, the quoit, the lotus, and the shell. The chariot is drawn by a seven-headed horse, and driven by the legless Arun, a personification of the dawn, or Aurora, both in Irish and Hindu mythology. The figures, in relief, at Martund are erect, the details are much effaced by time; but as Martund is one of the names of Surya, who is rather Vishnu than Siva, I think I am not wrong in saying that the figures are those of Vishnu and Luchmi, rather than of Siva and Parbuti.

"Vishnu is commonly said to be air, spirit, space, as well as the all-pervading sun. Fire is applied typically, as well as the sun, to both Brahma and Siva, but never, I think, to Vishnu, who is humidity in general."—*Vide* Moor's "Hindu Pantheon," p. 8.

Again, p. 280:—"At night, and in the west, the sun is Vishnu. He is Brahma in the east, and in the morning; from noon to evening he is Siva. Krishna, in Irish, remarks Sir William Jones, is the Sun, as well as in Sanscrit."

The façade of the building which stands in the interior is abreast of the gates of either colonnade, and one-third of the whole length of the quadrangle intervenes between it and the front gate, which faces to the west. A bank of stones and rubbish occupies the place where there was originally a flight of steps leading to the doorway. Though not a vestige of them remains, there can be no doubt of the fact, as many of the other old temples in the valley, and those in the Baramula Pass, are constructed more or less on the same plan as that of Martund, and have steps, or the remains of steps, in front of them. Annexed is a sketch of the front of the interior building. The

ground-plan is rectangular, about seventeen yards by nine. Both sides of the doorway on the front are carved in relievos, being miniature representations of those in the interior; but they are so much injured by time as to be scarcely perceptible, ex-

cepting when the sun brings them out with a strong shadow.

The interior is divided into two compartments; that at the entrance is nine yards in length; and at the western end is an inner chamber, or crypt, of five yards in length, surrounded by blank walls, but open, like the other, to the face of day; all semblance of a roof having long since disappeared beneath the shocks of earthquakes and the unsparing hand of Sikundur But Shekun.

In the centre of either side of the larger anterior chamber is a window reaching to the floor, and about eight feet in height. The walls, thus divided quarterly, are filled up with single figures in relief, two of Surya and two of Luchmi, one in each panel.

The Hindu worshippers of Siva in Kashmir exceed, I think, in number those of Vishnu, though I should say that the temples were generally dedicated to Vishnu. Abu Fuzl, in the Ayin Akberi, tells us that Kashmir is esteemed holy land, being dedicated to Mahadeo, the great god, or Siva, and some parts are considered peculiarly sacred. Such a remark, from such an authority, would help to raise a suspicion, already noticed, that the Temple of Martund itself was dedicated to Siva, who also represents the sun.—*Vide* note *ante*, p. 387.

Siva is worshipped in Kashmir under the names of Sudashu, or Shur, and his consort Parbuti, or Paharvati (the mountain-born nymph), as Uomar, Tropera, &c., and in one place only (Tula Mula, near the hill of Ahathung), as Bhawani.

The annexed drawing will convey an idea of

one of the interior walls, and its mouldings, cornices, &c.; and it will also be learned from them that three large arches supported the pyramidical roof, that of the eastern and western fronts, and that

over the division in the centre, and that they are of the same shape as those of the open niche in the wall.

The largest stone in the whole building rests over the entrance to the inner chamber or crypt; it is not less than ten feet in length, and about a yard in thickness. The whole of the interior is covered with stones that have been shaken down from the roof, and I was informed that there was a spring in the corner of the

inner building, which is now blocked up by them. It was once apparently two stories high; and at all events, if I am to judge from other ruins, particularly that of Pandrynton, near the city, and one in the Baramula Pass, the upper part was certainly pyramidical. Its height, now about forty feet, has been diminished by earthquakes, even within the memory of man; and Samud Shah assured me that he remembered it when it was much higher. But it needs not living evidence to persuade any one that this was the case; a great part of the quadrangle being strewed with enormous blocks of limestone, of which the building is entirely composed.

Perhaps the only unaccountable part of the ruins are the two side buildings, or detached wings, if I may use such an expression. They have been shaken out of the perpendicular, and appear to have fallen away from the wall to which they seem to have been joined; but an inspection of their inner face shews them to be sculptured with figures of the same character as those inside the building. They appear, moreover, to have been a mass of solid masonry; and I am forced to conclude that they were merely ornamental, and were joined by a flying buttress to the upper part of the centre building, particularly as the remains of part of an entablature, projecting from the top of the left wing towards the centre building, would seem to countenance such an opinion. At the south-western corner of the surrounding wall, and on the outside of it, is a small, isolated, and broken pillar. It may have been an inscription, but I have often, and vainly, searched for it in every part of the temple. Close to the little

column I found the stone foundation line of a small building, about three or four yards square.

Details, characteristic of different styles, are observable in the architecture of the Temple of Martund. The pyramidical top would remind us of Egypt and the fire altar. The flying buttress, by which I suppose the wings to have been connected with the centre buildings, would savour of the Gothic. The horizontal entablature, supported by the columns in the peristyle, would, as Professor Whewell has obligingly remarked to me, have a resemblance to the Grecian; and also, that, as the columns of the gate in the annexed vignette rise above the pillars of the wall, without bearing any definite relation to them, that part of the building may be Egyptian, Hindu, or any thing but Grecian.

The greater part of the old ruins in Kashmir were built between the times of Asoka (250 B.C.) and the end of the reign of Avante Verma, placed in Prinsep's Tables in A.D. 875; but the same style is apparent in all of them, and the formation of the arch at Lidur has been followed throughout, down to that in the building at Pa-yech, which appears to be the most modern of all. The style of architecture used in the religious buildings in Europe for the first 1000 years of the Christian period is the Romanesque; and much of the description of it by Professor Whewell appears to me to apply generally to the buildings in Kashmir. There are no topes, such as are seen in Afghanistan, in any part of the valley or the surrounding mountain countries; which may be received as good evidence that Kashmir was never, or at least for any long period, in possession of the Indo-Scythic

dynasties, under whom they were supposed to have been erected. Topes are of Buddhist origin, and Buddhism did prevail in Kashmir, where there was a succession of Scythian or Turuska princes. The latter, however, must have preceded the Indo-Scythic dynasty in Afghanistan, and the custom of tope building — facts which are in harmony with the accounts in the Rajah Taringini, and the absence of Greek coins in the topes (the Greek dynasty having long ceased to exist), and shew that the fashion of building them did not come into use in Afghanistan until at least after the Christian era.* A reference to Prinsep's Tables will supply the necessary dates.

Few of the Kashmirian ruins, if any, I should say, were Buddhist; those in or upon the edge of water were rather, I should suppose, referable to the worship of the Nags, Nagas, or snake gods. The figures in all the temples are almost always in an erect position, and I have never been able to discover any inscription in those now remaining, although there are two old Buddhu stone inscriptions on the stones of the wall that bounds the Jylum, in the city, brought originally, no doubt, from some temple. One

* "The political vicissitudes of Bamian must have been the same as those of Bactria and Kabul. We find there successive vestiges of Greek, Scythian, and Sassanian rule, and of the Buddhist and Mithraic forms of worship. In the early ages of the Christian era, and perhaps for a century or two before, Buddhism flourished at Bamian; and such of the caves as are appropriated to Buddhist mendicants were embellished, and the statues of Sakya Muni (Buddha) were hewn out of the rock. At a subsequent period the emblems of the worship of fire, and fire altars, succeeded, until they were in turn displaced by the Arabs and the Koran."— *Vide* the Author's "Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan," p. 191.

is on the western side of the river, and to the south of the bridge called the Ali Kudal; the other is known as the Malek Yar,* near one of the other bridges.

"The characters of the Romanesque," says Professor Whewell, "are a more or less close, and generally rude, imitation of the features of the Roman architecture. The arches are rounded, and supported on pillars, retaining traces of the classical proportions, but generally much more massive. The pilasters, cornices, and entablatures, have no correspondence and similarity with those of classical architecture; there is a prevalence of rectangular faces, and square-edged projections; the openings in walls are small, and subordinate to the surfaces in which they occur; the members of the architecture are massive and heavy, very limited in kind and repetition, the enrichments being introduced rather by sculpturing surfaces than by multiplying and extending the component parts. There is in this style a predominance of horizontal sines, or at least no predominance or elongation of vertical ones. For instance, the walls have no prominent buttresses, and are generally terminated by a strong horizontal tablet or cornice. The same kind of architecture, or perhaps particular modifications of it, have been by various persons termed Saxon, Norman, Lombard, Byzantine," &c.

There is one peculiarity about the older buildings of Kashmir, and that is, that the ornaments on the outside have been comparatively but little attended to, and the wall surrounding the peristyle has, as usual, a

* Yar is a place on the shore or side of the lake or river. Yar-i-Bul, a common expression, signifies the strand or bank of the lake or river.

colonnade on the interior, but its outside is completely a blank, and unornamented.

I had been struck with the great general resemblance which the temple bore to the recorded disposition of the ark, and its surrounding curtains, and in imitation of which the temple at Jerusalem was built; and it became for a moment a question whether the Kashmirian temples had not been built by Jewish architects, who had recommended them to be constructed on the same plan, for the sake of convenience merely. It is, however, a curious fact that in Abyssinia, the ancient Ethiopia, which was also called Kush, the ancient Christian churches, as I am informed by Mr. Wolff, are not unlike those of Kashmir, and that they were originally built in imitation of the temple, by the Israelites who followed the Queen of Sheba to Aksum, the capital of Tigree, where she resided with her son Menelik, whom she had by Solomon, who (Menelik) took possession of the throne of Kush, where his descendants are at this moment the Nugus, or Kings, of Abyssinia.

There were certainly no Jews in Kashmir during the whole time that I was there; but the Shah Sahib told Mr. Wolff that there were some in late years, who had been buried on or near the Tukt-i-Suliman; and that gentleman informs me that the Jews in the cities of Turkistan are now chiefly builders and artificers.

Mr. Wolff, who is on every account so pre-eminently competent to form a judgment upon the subject of the lost tribes, has given it as his opinion that, even if the Afghans be the descendants of Jacob, still they are not descendants of the lost tribes, but Jews, *i. e.* of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin; and

that the tradition is not by any means universal amongst the Afghans themselves, whose language does not bear the slightest resemblance to Hebrew, and who derive their ideas on the subject from modern manuscripts. Supposing there were less doubt on the subject, I could easily be persuaded, to judge only from appearance, that some of the Kashmirians were originally descended from a Jewish stock, although the complexions of the women resemble those of the Armenians, or of the Yarkundis of Mogulistan.

Supposing again the sons of Jacob to have moved eastward, they must have travelled along the Herat and Kandahar road. Afterwards they would have been stopped by the mountains, now called the Sulimani range, to which they might have given the name of Sulimán, in ages long antecedent to the time of Mahomet, whose followers tell us that they are so called from the Tukt-i-Sulimán mountain, the appellation by which the highest of them is known. But then the inhabitants of that part by which they must have passed, if, as would be most likely the case, they then turned northward up the country towards Ghuzni, are now called the Suliman Kyl, or tribe of Solomon—perhaps the descendants of some of them who were contented to remain there. It then becomes the reverse of improbable, that they would by degrees find their way to Kashmir; and as we are told in Isaiah, xi. 11, &c., that there were Israelites in the land of Assyria and Kush,—which, in Holy Writ, is a large tract of country extended between the Tigris and the Nile,*—it is not impossible that some of them may

* *Vide* Mant's Bible: Isaiah, chap. xviii.

have carried the name with them, and these might have originated the idea of the hill or throne of Solomon in these countries.

There are no old names extant for the Tukt-i-Sulimán in Kashmir, excepting those of the Hindus. But the position of these conjectures, upon the way by which the descendants of the lost tribes may have found their way to the eastward and Kashmir, is much disturbed by the existence of improbabilities arising from the want of similarity of language.

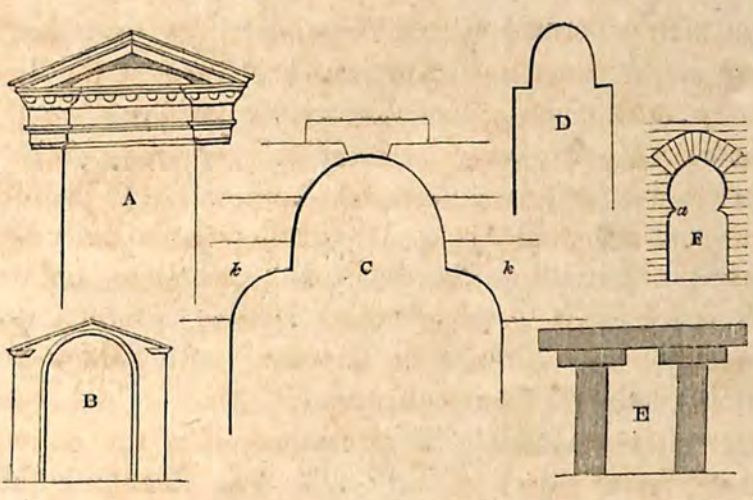
As I would conclude from its insulated situation, its climate, and other advantages alone, that Kashmir has been a place of consequence from the very earliest ages, so would I also infer that its architecture, or some of its peculiarities, like that of Egypt, is more likely to have afforded a prototype than to be a copy of any known style; and that it may be pronounced to be peculiar to the valley. I, at least, know of nothing exactly like it in Hindustan, nor any thing resembling it in any country to the westward of the Indus. But I am largely indebted (as my readers will also be) to the discrimination of a learned professor,* who has kindly allowed me to publish the following very comprehensive letter on the subject, addressed to myself, and has also assured me that so very curious and novel a collection of examples has rarely been brought to light.

"I have examined," says Mr. Willis in his letter, "with the greatest possible interest the valuable sketches of temples in Kashmir which you have so kindly submitted to me. They appear to me to be

* Professor R. Willis, M.A. F.R.S.

decidedly separated in style from all known examples, and at the same time must be considered as having contributed, amongst many others, to the formation of the Gothic. However, as every style of architecture, although it may have assumed characters that distinguish it effectually from all others, will generally be found to have been derived from some others, either in construction or decoration, I shall proceed to examine the buildings in question, with a view to discover their probable history.

"It is impossible to divest oneself of the notion that the architect of this style was imitating the pediment of the Greeks or Romans, in the gables which appear on the sides of the central buildings, and over the arches. If this be admitted, we have some guide to the period at which the imitation took place; for in all the Greek examples, the pediment, with its horizontal cornice, is simple, unbroken, and low in pitch. In the Roman, on the contrary, the pitch is increased, and the integrity of the horizontal cornice in the later examples is destroyed. At Palmyra and Balbec, for example, the horizontal cornice, instead of being carried straight across, under the tympanum, is broken, and returned back to the face of the wall, and the tympanum itself is formed into a segmental arch, as at A. (*Vide* Wood's 'Palmyra,' pl. 22, 45, 47, 50, 51 C, 52, and Wood's 'Balbec,' pl. 43 and 45.) In the baths of the Romans numerous examples occur of a similar treatment of the pediment. In the gables of these latter buildings the horizontal cornice of the pediment appears never to have been carried across (*vide fig.* B), but short returns only were employed, and arched apertures



have their heads carried up into the very tympanum.* (*Vide* Palladio's Baths, and Cameron, for numerous examples.)

"Now the leading feature in every gable of your examples is a pediment of high pitch, with short horizontal returns, each supported by a pilaster or column. The arched aperture rises into the tympanum of the pediment, far above the line of the horizontal cornice. But although the arrangement of this composition appears, so far, to have been borrowed from Roman examples of the kind just mentioned, the details and construction were certainly not so borrowed. The profiles of the mouldings do not appear on your sketches, but enough is shewn to prove that they are not classical, but rather of the Hindu character. There are indications of dentils in one or two of the examples, which may be intended for Roman dentils;

* Also at Pompeii, in the court of the Temple of Isis. (*Vide* pl. 68, Gell and Gandy.)

but similar ornaments are found in the excavated temples of Ellora and Salsette, if I mistake not.

"Again, the form of the arch is totally different from the Roman, being the trefoil. The history of this form is involved in quite as much obscurity as that of the pointed arch. It makes its first appearance in Europe after the first crusade, and may therefore be supposed either to be derived from the East, or from Byzantium, as other evidence may point out. Some of the earliest European examples are in the Romanesque churches of the Rhine.

"With respect to the trefoil arches in the buildings of Kashmir, they are arches only in form, not in construction, being erected of overhanging stones, with horizontal joints; the keystone curiously formed by a piece depending from the covering course of masonry. The architect, therefore, if he were imitating the arches of the Romans, was ignorant of their mechanical principle, and copied them as a form alone; but the construction, by overhanging masonry, is essentially Hindu; and even for the trefoil as a form, it differs very little from the form D, which occurs as the head of a panel, or niche, in the caves of Salsette, and probably in other Hindu examples. (*Vide* Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery,' part v. pl. 4 and 11.)

"Indeed, following out the same notion a little further, I might say that in the excavated temples of Ellora, and elsewhere, this general principle is employed, namely, that a pier, or column, is always surmounted by a long block, as at E, which is decorated in various ways, but which gives to the aper-

ture, or intercolumn; the form of a square trefoil, if I may be allowed the expression.*

"Again, in the Mahommedan arch (*fig.* F), the arch, considered as a form, springs from overhanging corbels at *a*, very much resembling *k k* in the Kashmir arch (*fig.* C), but that the latter are much larger in proportion; also in *fig.* F the mechanical arch does really spring much higher up than the decorative arch. The Mahommedan arch may be well supposed to have borrowed these characters from the far East, rather than from any European styles.

"My intention in these remarks is to shew that the points of difference between the Kashmir buildings and the Roman are of a Hindu character, and that, therefore, their builders were Hindu imitators of the Roman, rather than Roman or Grecian imitators of the Hindu, seeing that the *forms* approach or imitate the Roman, whereas the *workmanship* is of the former character.

"I will point out another principle of decoration which appears to me to be Hindu.

"The simplest of your examples (Pandrynton is nearly as much so) is the elegant temple of Pa-yech, and this, viewed in elevation, may be represented as in the annexed diagram, 1. But the decorations of the interior of the temple of Martund are formed by a representation of this simple arrangement of a temple in relief against the wall on each side of the doorway; and again, the apparently complex elevation of the temple

* "Your temple near Jamu has these square trefoils."—*Vide* Letter E.

at Putun may be resolved into two such elevations as No. 1, placed one within the other, as shewn in No. 2. But this method of ornamenting the walls of large

temples with representations of smaller ones is commonly employed in Hindu architecture.

"For example, your temple at Chumba is covered with such representations; and it must be observed that these representations not only contain the gable and its trefoil arch, but also shew the double pyramidal roof behind, which is represented upon the flat surface of the wall by mouldings; and in the same way, in the Hindu representations above mentioned, the swelled pyramidal roof of the small temples, or shrines, is shewn in low relief.

"The conclusion that I arrive at from these remarks is, that the temples of Kashmir are, probably, the work of Hindu or other Asiatic masons, and that the mixture of Roman or other character is the result of an imitation of the later Roman buildings. This would assign them to a period beginning with the

Parthian conquests of Syria,* by which an opportunity was given to the Eastern workmen to see the buildings of Syria, and even of Egypt; and thus new forms were suggested to them, which they might imitate upon returning to their own country, but would naturally mix with their usual habits of construction. I mentioned Egypt, having the pyramidal cap of your Kashmirian examples in view. This, as a general theory, appears to me preferable to the idea that these buildings were the work of descendants of the Bactrian Greeks; because those portions of classical architecture which are apparently mixed in their Kashmir temples, I have shewn to belong to a later date than Grecian architecture.†

"I may add, that the general plan of the central buildings of Kashmir resembles that of a Hindu temple, in that both consist of a central mass, nearly square on the plan, with wings of slight projection attached to the sides; and this plan is, as far as I know, peculiar to the buildings in question.

"Now, as to the arrangement or plan of the buildings; that will naturally be prescribed by the Ritual for the celebration of which they are erected. However, there appears to be little peculiarity in placing the temple in the midst of a court surrounded by a peristyle, or cloister, facing inwards. The temple of Kailasa,‡ at Ellora, is so arranged, and so are many

* "This agrees very well with the date which you have assigned to them, between 250 B.C. and 875 A.D."—*Vide* Prinsep's Tables, &c.

† I have elsewhere mentioned that I never remember to have seen a Bactrian coin in the valley.

‡ Heaven.

Hindu temples up to the present period; also many Roman temples, and probably the Greek; as, for example, many of those at Pompeii. The temple now called the Maison Carrée, at Nismes, is another case. The three gateways to the court are, perhaps, peculiar, but at Pompeii the entrances to the peristyles are on two or more sides of the enclosure. These peristyles being on a smaller scale than the central buildings, are, as might be expected, often destroyed when the latter has survived.

"It must be for the historian to decide whether any new sect arose which would require temples to be erected in a form different from those usually employed.

"R. WILLIS.

"*Cambridge, March* 25, 1841."

Without being able to boast, either in extent or magnificence, of an approach to equality with the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, or the ruins of the palace at Persepolis, the Pandu-Koru or Martund is not without pretensions to a locality of scarcely inferior interest, and deserves to be ranked with them, as the leading specimen of a gigantic style of architecture that has decayed with the religion it was intended to cherish, and the prosperity of a country which it could not but adorn. In situation it is far superior to either. Palmyra is surrounded by an ocean of sand, and Persepolis overlooks a marsh; but the Temple of the Sun, or Martund, is built on a natural platform at the foot of some of the noblest mountains, and beneath its ken lies what is undoubtedly the finest and the most *prononcée* valley in the known world. The prospect from the green slope behind it is seen to the

greatest advantage upon the approach of evening, when the whole landscape is yet in sunshine, but about to undergo a change; when the broad daylight still rests upon the snowy peaks of the Pir Panjal, but commences a retreat before their widening shadows in the valley beneath them. The luminous and yellow spot in which we recognise the foliage of the distant chunar-tree is suddenly extinguished; village after village becomes wrapped in comparative obscurity; and the last and brilliant beams of an Asiatic setting sun repose for a while upon the grey walls that seem to have been raised on purpose to receive them, and display the ruins of their own temple in the boldest and most beautiful relief. With the exception of the Fakir's dwelling at the Chah-i-Babel, there is not a vestige of human habitation upon the green waste. A solitary villager may be seen passing from one district to another; a few cattle may be grazing in the distance, and a shepherd or two may be seen collecting their flocks for the night; whilst the bleating of their charge only breaks in upon the silence, without disturbing the extraordinary tranquillity, of the scene.

We are not looking upon the monuments of the dead; we step not aside to inspect a tomb, or pause to be saddened by an elegy; the noble pile in the foreground is rather an emblem of age than of mortality, and the interest with which we perambulate its ruins is not the less pleasurable because we do not know much that is certain of its antiquity, its founders, or its original use.

Though there are, perhaps, not less than seventy or eighty of these old Hindu buildings in the valley, yet, after having seen Martund, there are, perhaps,

but four or five that need be visited, if time be short; and these, I think, are (and they are already noticed), Wentipur; the curious building at Pandrynton, near the present city, which stands in a tank; the exquisite little edifice at Pa-yech, in the centre of the valley, under the northern edge of the plain of No Nagur; the building on the summit of the Tukt-i-Sulimán; and the enormously massive platforms at Shurjibul or Zojibul, near the city. To these may be added Putun, near, if not much out of the way; and most of the ruins in the Baramula Pass are well worth visiting. The top of the oldest of these, on the right bank of the river, and not far from Baramula, has been a small but perfect pyramid, is surrounded by water, and has quite preserved its shape.

END OF FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY MOYES AND BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

00088445

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016